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AGRICULTURAL ENGINEERS' REPORT ON TFSC AGRICULTURE

Nicosia OLAY in Turkish 19 Nov 79 pp 8-14

[Text] [I.] As an economic sector which even the industrialized nations cannot ignore, agriculture is an inseparable part of human life. In the less developed nations, however, agriculture is the sector which finances development. With its contribution of raw materials, it is a source of development that industry cannot do without. In an orderly economic policy, the increase of agricultural production and the planned preparation of the environment for industry before entering the process of industrialization form the heart of development policies.

The agriculture sector generates approximately 70 percent of the national income in the TFSC [Turkish Federated State of Cyprus]. Based on 1977, agricultural products reportedly comprise 83 percent of our nation's total exports. Resolution of our foreign exchange problem, with our economy in the crisis it is, depends largely on the agriculture sector. The formation of agriculture-dependent light industry in the industrialization process is a precondition for our economic development. This is why it is necessary to dwell consciously on the agriculture sector and to aspire to a national agriculture policy.

In its present state, the agriculture sector is nonconcentrated, disowned and inefficient in the fullest sense. In spite of all the valuable resources gained after 1974, it is clearly seen that no progress has taken place in the agriculture sector, owing to the illogical policies applied, and technical productivity has fallen below the 1974 level. The agricultural organs of the state, which ought to be the brains of the agriculture sector, have been brought to a position where they cannot function by partisanship. In their present state, the agricultural organs of the state provide no modern technical service to the producer, but are merely a mechanism for enhancing the political interests of the agriculture minister. That hundreds of citizens seek to see the agriculture minister every day is proof that the authorities are concentrated in a single hand and used in a partisan way.

At the Eleventh General Congress held by the Chamber of Agricultural Engineers of the Union of Turkish Cypriot Chambers of Engineers and Architects, agricultural problems were discussed, proposals for resolving these problems were evaluated and the preparation of this agriculture report was envisaged.

II. General Analysis of Problems

II. 1. Land Distribution Policy

Discontent persists in the rural areas, because, ever since the founding of the IFSC, the necessary sensibility has not been shown in the housing and rehabilitation of our citizens, the large majority of whom are farmers and refugees. This hampers productivity and reduces production. The redistribution efforts recently carried out in accordance with the ITEM [expansion unknown] Law passed in 1977 have disgruntled our producer farmers. The 36,000-lira annual income placed in the law as the criterion for the right of ownership will take away the right of ownership from many producers. These criteria, which were written into the law in 1977, are ridiculous today. The norm is described in the law as "the amount of land which a 5-member family can cultivate to obtain 36,000 Turkish liras annually in pure farm income." In practice, however, the norm is figured not as the amount of land on which the farmer can make 36,000 Turkish liras in pure farm income, but as the land in the settlement center sufficient for each resident. Such a practice creates an imbalance among the settlement units. In regions with scarce agricultural resources, the producers must be supported with agricultural credits or agricultural activities to make up the norms. Agricultural resources must not be divided into less than economic units, which must be taken as basic to meeting the social and economic needs of the farming families.

The ITEM Law states that agricultural credit may be given to right-holding producers. Yet, to date, credit distribution has lacked planning or programming. The southern refugees, especially, are meeting bureaucratic obstacles and patronage in making use of these credits. Credits are not being given in the framework of any specific plan. No follow-up is conducted on the use to which those receiving credit put it. Thus, credit, far from its true goals, is serving no other purpose than to allow certain influential individuals to form capital.

Land is rented in accordance with Council of Ministers resolution 389/78. This resolution was issued for the southern refugees who had been unable to take advantage of the 1976 planned land distribution because they were civil servants or who qualified for equal-value property but had received no property. As far as we can see, resolution 389/78 has served no other purpose than to allow certain influential persons to increase their land. The reserve lands cannot be left for future right holders if the reserve lands are exhausted through the redistribution efforts generally carried

out with practices of this sort. We believe that Council of Ministers resolution 389/78 should be applied only to southern refugees holding equal value rights who have received no land.

Article 13-3 of the ITEM Law dealing with cultivation models says, "Agricultural resources may be distributed, without adhering to the designated order, to agriculture and veterinary faculty graduates and graduates of vocational schools in these fields of education for the purpose of establishing cultivation models, if they register at the state offices." This article, also, has failed to be realized in practice. There is no housing where the land is located, and in the places where there is housing, the land is not suitable for establishing cultivation models. The ministry should have designated cultivation model areas first and should have left them out of distribution. Since this was not done, the related article is good for nothing but show.

In order that land distribution practices may benefit our nation, it is necessary that they be carried out within the framework of an agricultural reform to be prepared according to scientific principles. The fact that a significant portion of the agricultural land in our country is under state control is a rare opportunity for carrying out land reform. Haphazard land distribution just for the purpose of making people land owners would be futile and would allow the dereliction of much productive land, as well.

II. 2. Agricultural Equipment Policy

The goal of the agricultural equipment service is to transfer improvements in tools and machinery to the producers and to provide the necessary inputs and equipment. To date, the service has failed to be realized except for the haphazard and partisan distribution of the rare piece of equipment.

It is necessary that agricultural equipment policy be designed so as to resolve the following problems:

1. Every effort must be made to get imported vehicles and equipment and other agricultural inputs to the producer on time.
2. Guidance must be provided in such agricultural construction as greenhouses, animal housing and dairy barns.
3. Repair shops for agricultural vehicles and equipment must be made to work more orderly and effectively.
4. The manufacture of disk harrows [or sprayers], plows, harrows, wagons and such agricultural equipment must be undertaken.
5. Teams must be formed to provide the plowing, hoeing, spraying and reaping needs of producers at reasonable prices.

6. In the long term, plans must be made for turning over to producer cooperatives the agricultural equipment board, which seems to have become a drag on the state and which fails to serve the producer.

II. 3. State Stud Farms Policy

The state stud farms are needed to provide an example and guidance for producers through experimentation and experience gained. In addition, they should provide for the planned realization of agricultural production. For this reason, they should directly affect the quantitative and qualitative development of production. It is necessary that the state stud farms in Northern Cyprus be removed from their present narrow confines and moved into more active and widespread fields of endeavor. In their present state, the state stud farms are realizing grain and livestock production only at the level of a medium-sized agricultural operation. The level of productivity at the farms is far from profitable and cannot be shown as an example for producers. No scientific work is now being done at the farms and no modern innovations are being practiced. No real activity has been shown in animal husbandry and grains, which cover the present field of endeavor, or in the advancement of Sakiz sheep or the Giberunda variety of pasta wheat, which are well-suited to our climate.

Certified seed should be distributed by the livestock and grain offices, and the state stud farms should be organized so as to publicize and put into practice research results. Work in connection with animal husbandry should be carried out in conjunction with the plant production office, which is under the livestock office.

II. 4. Livestock Policy

Animal husbandry is an important arm of agriculture. Agriculture has always been as dependent on animals for production as human life has been directly related to agriculture. The meat, milk and eggs which are invaluable sources of nutrition in our daily lives provide our animal protein requirements. In Cyprus, which is an agrarian nation, our people are facing the danger of not receiving adequate protein because of the daily rising prices of meat. Inadequate nutrition is generally a worldwide threat to mankind. Thus it is a task of a universal nature which falls upon the agriculture ministry.

Our experts working the livestock offices seem to be bureaucrats selling eggs and chicks. When scientific research is conducted and disseminated to our producers, the livestock office will have performed its true function. Scientific work must be performed by acting on scientific principles and data. We suffer occasional meat shortages because production in our time has not been based on scientific principles.

The Sakiz sheep left in our region from before 1974 are declining every day and their place is being abandoned to the Ivesi sheep, which are hardier but produce less meat. This change will bring more meat shortages in our country in the future. The livestock office must develop projects to promote production of the Sakiz breed of sheep with their high prolificacy in Karpaz, the Kyrenia coastline and the Guzelyurt region where they are adaptable. The Ivesi breed or Ivesi-Sakiz cross, which are less prolific but are feed efficient, should be developed in a planned way in the Mesarya [Mesaoria] region. In addition to legal sanctions to prevent the slaughter of young lambs, the reasons for slaughter should be researched and measures taken. Scientific projects should be conducted to breed the animals we have with early-maturing meat breeds. Work should be done on projects with cattle, which have a higher meat and milk production rate than sheep.

Our livestock development is being hampered by lack of control in the feed industry and high feed prices. Central laboratories should be set up to provide constant quality control of feeds. Increased feed prices are raising milk and meat costs and this means reduced producer income. In view of this, costs must be taken into account when milk and meat base prices are being figured, and producer organization representatives must be included in future deliberations.

Live lambs escaping to southern Cyprus also add to our meat shortage. In addition to police measures against smuggling, after ensuring that the producer gets a true return on his labor, an active campaign must be undertaken against those who turn to this sort of commercial gain.

Regional refrigerated milk collection centers must be built to which the milk industry board would deliver the milk produced and collected. Finally, agricultural master engineers with a major in milk technology should be admitted to the board; employing only veterinarians and biologists is wrong. Appointments to the board's administration are not made properly. Our chamber considers it a mistake not to appoint agricultural master engineers specializing in this subject.

The marine products policy is totally wrong and must be changed. The first 5-Year Development Plan, covering 1977-1982, states the following facts on marine products:

"1. Our fish stocks are depleted and we lack adequate knowledge of our fish beds.

"2. Per capita fish consumption is low, demand is high.

"3. It is necessary to research the culture of various fish types comprising promising fish beds for the future until fish types suitable for the climate and local conditions in the inland waters and man-made lakes are found and economic production made possible.

"4. The need is felt for research on the adaptation of the fish existing off our shores to pond conditions, the types of food they eat, conditions for their rapid development and the possibilities for their production under manmade conditions."

While in view of these facts, 2 million Turkish liras were set aside in the plan for the purpose of dredging hatchery areas for fishery development, 11 million liras were allocated to fishing cooperatives for the harvest of fish. This will lead to exhaustion of the depleted fish supply in our seas.

New projects must be prepared for the development of franchise activities and long-term staffing must be developed. We believe that a more effective fight against bees and egg destruction is required.

II. 5. Plant Production Policy

The basic condition for success in production, aside from growth-related factors, depends on all necessary measures being taken on time and getting the inputs to the producers on time and at reasonable prices. The producer must be technically knowledgeable. Quantitative and qualitative increase of production can be obtained only through the widespread use of modern agricultural developments.

In its present state, the Agriculture Office, which is responsible for getting every sort of technical assistance to the producer, with regard to plant production, is acting only as a paper shuffler, trying to provide an educational service with no research on which to base it. Yet, the goal of agricultural education is to convey research results to the producer. As no research is being done, up-to-date information is [not] reaching the producer.

Bayrak Radio-TV programs in the villages are described as "agriculture jokes." It is impossible to provide agricultural education with outdated brochures. It is absolutely necessary that the Agriculture Office be brought into line with its true function.

II. 5. 1. Grains Policy

While barley and wheat grown in our region were exported to foreign countries prior to 1974, we are importing barley and wheat today because of the erroneous policy pursued. Failure to provide the producer with the necessary inputs on time, [failure] to fight disease and pests vigorously and failure to announce grain purchase prices on time have caused this. For healthy production:

1. Grain purchase prices must be announced before October.
2. Inputs must be provided on time and at reasonable prices.

3. Disease and insects must be fought effectively.
4. Agricultural insurance must be instituted as soon as possible.
5. The amount of land distributed per person must be increased, bearing in mind crop rotation conditions.
6. The Soil Products Organization must be reorganized so as to provide more effective service to the producer.
7. Modern silos must be built.
8. Efforts must be shown toward determining new barley and wheat types suitable for our conditions and protecting and distributing the Giberunda variety.
9. The practice, caused by lack of machinery, among producers whereby small producers lease their land tends to produce "grain lords." The necessary teams must be formed to bring service to the small producer.

II. 5. 2. Citrus Policy

The potential existing within the TFSC borders since 1974 for 85,000 donums [940 meters²] of citrus fruits has fallen to 55,000 donums because of the erroneous agricultural policy. There has been an attempt to place the sole responsibility on the producer for the dereliction of citrus groves, our most important source of foreign exchange. If responsibility is to be sought, it is the producers if it belongs to the last on the responsibility list, it is the promulgators of the erroneous agricultural policy if it belongs to the first. In these years, the producers' toil and sweat have been in vain. At the end of the 5-year period, it is seen that the producers have yet to be enabled to organize, thus form an element of pressure. Cypruvex [Cyprus Vegetable and Fruit Processing and Exporting Corporation, Ltd], unable to come up with adequate capital, has to pay 12 million Turkish liras in interest per year to the bank monopolies. This organization's annual interest debt, which exceeds its 10 million-lira capitalization, is a burden on the producer.

1. Base prices must be set according to scientific principles, and the producer must be informed in advance.
2. The producer must get production inputs and services on time.
3. The imbalance between electric water pumps and diesel water pumps must be rectified.
4. Cyprufex is deeply in debt largely because of inadequate capital. Its debts should be closed out by the state and it should try to work as a producer cooperative.

5. Value for produce received should either be paid immediately or a two-thirds advance should be given.

6. An effort should be made to realize a return on cull produce.

II. 5. 3. Vegetable Policy

Despite the failure to provide inputs on time, the failure of technical information to reach the producer and the marketing difficulties encountered, our local vegetable needs are being fully met today and exports are being made by means of cooperatives established by the producers.

Nevertheless, the following problems, which are beyond the producers' influence and power and which come under the responsibility of the relevant organizations of the state, must be resolved:

1. Providing vegetable farmers with the necessary inputs on time.
2. Determining through scientific research the best seasonal and early vegetable varieties for our conditions and informing the producers.
3. Resolution of the transport problems frequently encountered in vegetable sales abroad.
4. Ensuring the sale to Turkey of vegetables in excess of domestic consumption.
5. Conveyance of technical information in the true sense to vegetable producers.
6. Providing assistance in the production of vegetable seedlings.
7. Moving toward standardization in vegetable production.

II. 5. 4. Potato - Carrot Policy

Production areas have declined because of the lack of planning or programming in marketing and production. Despite the stress by producers on potato cultivation in recent years, potato yields are even below the 1970 averages because the Agriculture Ministry has not done what it should.

In order to ensure success in potato production, it is necessary to research and determine the causes of low yields and take preventive measures. Moreover, the necessary efforts must be made to set aside a specific quota in northern Cyprus for the early European markets and the British market.

Despite the fact that all villages producing carrots prior to 1974 have remained within our boundaries, there is a big problem of failure in this area. The latest was the leasing by the Agriculture Ministry this year of

an 850-ton ship, but through lack of planning, only 250 tons of carrots were loaded aboard. This painful outcome was the result of lack of production planning and the failure of the Agriculture Ministry to find out digging time and amount of yield.

This year, because the necessary measures were not taken at customs, the disease "Erwinia antroseptica" (potato root blight) was brought in with the seed potatoes, and the Guzelyurt region suffered damage.

II. 5. 5. Vineyard Policy

The hasty, disorderly initiatives begun in grape cultivation must be brought under specific programs. We should ensure our self-sufficiency through early establishment of light industry based on viniculture. The danger of phylloxera's entering our country exists in large measure because of the failure to take adequate agricultural quarantine measures. It is necessary to train and increase the number of agricultural quarantine agents at customs and that a fully equipped laboratory be set up.

II. 5. 6. Carob - Olive Policy

Our economically valuable carob and olive groves are deteriorating every day as the result of lack of interest, dereliction and lack of upkeep. The proper state organizations must provide leadership in taking the necessary measures for protecting the existing trees from damage by goats, fire and rats, for preventing their becoming overgrown and for performing the necessary maintenance.

II. 6. Irrigation Programs Policy

Cyprus is a country lacking subterranean and surface water sources. The existing danger of salinity has increased in large measure because of the lack of planning and programs. Water pumps in Guzelyurt and Famagusta draw sea water. This has a negative effect on citrus groves and vegetable production. In order to solve the problem, special irrigation projects must be implemented. The measures set forth in reports prepared on this subject are included in the Agriculture Office's reports every year but are not implemented. In view of the limited water resources, weight must be given to vegetable and fruit production and vegetables with a low summer water requirement must be produced. Advantage must be taken of scientific studies on modern irrigation methods and suitable ones must be installed.

II. 7. Agricultural Warfare and Quarantine

We harvest what diseases and insects leave behind. There can be no agriculture without agricultural warfare. As 60 percent - 70 percent of what the producer produces goes to cover the costs of harvest, storage and preparation for sale, meeting these expenses is closely related to the

quality of the produce. Moreover, agricultural warfare drugs are a field of practice requiring close watching from the standpoint of human health and the balance of nature.

The gaps existing in our agricultural warfare since 1974 have not been filled. The biological station which was opened in Guzelyurt and aerial pesticide spraying seem to have been suspended because of vacancies in the organizational structure. Because nature is a self-renewing system, agricultural warfare not based on research has always failed. The agricultural warfare problems summarized below are waiting for solutions:

1. Pesticide application problem:

Let us suppose that the object of battle is a beetle. The number of eggs that the beetle lays per year, the vulnerable periods in its biology and whether the population reaches the threshold of economic loss are influential in our decision to combat it. Under the circumstances in our country, conducting agricultural warfare without determining these data will bring about problems impossible to reverse.

2. Residual problem resulting from agricultural warfare:

Agricultural warfare drugs constitute a threat to both human health and the balance of nature. It is necessary that agricultural warfare be undertaken knowledgeably, that the necessary measures be taken to protect the natural balance and that analyses of tolerable residue levels be made. Our exports to developed nations may be affected by this.

3. Agricultural quarantine problem:

Almost all nations of the world have customs quarantines for the purpose of preventing entry into the nations of diseases and pests which present a danger to them. The necessary measures have not been taken in this regard since 1974 because of a shortage of personnel. Customs agents must be trained for this purpose, and the quarantine function must be present at all customs gates by means of legal provisions, laboratories and technical personnel.

4. Legal gaps:

Agricultural drugs are an input closely concerning the health of society and the national economy. All applications, unless applied before entering the country, must be regulated by law.

5. Organization:

The total reorganization of the ministry has become necessary, to conform to the scientific and technical needs of a prototype agricultural warfare branch in the structure of the ministry. For the modern conduct of the

agricultural warfare service, a quarantine law must be passed and a fully equipped test laboratory must be set up.

II. 8. Agricultural Research

Despite all the warnings made to date, agricultural research has not been given the necessary importance in our country. Research heads the tasks listed in the founding goals of the Agriculture Office, the Livestock Office and the Agricultural Equipment Board, which are all attached to the Agriculture Ministry. Despite this, no research in the scientific sense is being conducted in these organizations in northern Cyprus. In order that the agricultural services may reach a modern level, it is necessary to accomplish without delay the organization to direct the research task. In order to do this, it is necessary also to agree that agriculture forms an integral structure within itself and that an agricultural research organization to direct all agricultural research tasks must be formed.

The Guzelyurt farm, which was used as a research farm prior to 1974, could well be attached to the new research organization. It is impossible to believe that agriculture can be developed without giving the necessary importance to research or by conveying unresearched information to the producing sector.

II. 9. Producer Organizations and Organizing Problem

While the middlemen, who make no contribution to production in capitalist economies lacking supervision, take the lion's share of the profits, the producers, in extreme circumstances, become far removed from the act of producing. The producer and the consumer need to join forces in cooperatives. It is seen that to date in northern Cyprus, the producers have not been able to form strong organizations or pressure groups. Cooperatives, by combining individuals against the speculative capitalist sector, though defending them economically, do not destroy their operational integrity. On the contrary, by joining together for a common economic goal, they increase their economic independence. Acting on this basic fact, we can liken cooperatives to the labor unions, which are the workers' economic, democratic organizations. Cooperatives are organizations which, through production and marketing activities, bring the producer and the consumer face to face in the marketplace without the middleman.

Cooperatives are autonomous and democratic entities. Despite the existence of many cooperatives within the TFSC boundaries, the large majority of them do not perform their true function. Our cooperatives' lack of economic resources hampers their independence. Since there has been no new cooperatives law passed to date, the law drawn up by the British colonial administration in the 1950's to comply with the conditions of that time is still in effect. The prompt preparing and putting into effect of an inherently democratic cooperatives law is unavoidable.

The Cooperative Central Bank, which makes it necessary for producers to have their own organization and which polices the cooperatives, is being run in the interest of certain political accounts. It is necessary that producers also be included in this organization.

II. 10. Technical Personnel Problems

The brain drain is one of the most important problems of the less developed nations. The TFSC, too, has come to an employment impasse because of the unplanned, unprogrammed manner in which production is realized. Professionals in our field are made to work for long periods without rank or tenure. Extensive military service and lengthy unemployment are not deterring our professionals from the field. Agriculture classes ought to be taught at the middle level schools by agriculture engineers as a measure to prevent unemployment of our professionals. In this way, it could be said that farming children would get adequate training also. There must be an end to the pressures on technical personnel by the ministry's top administration, and management staffing must be accomplished by acting on the principle of the job itself and the man for the job rather than the whim of the "master or the minister."

Conclusion

It is seen throughout our report that a mismanaged agricultural policy is at the root of every problem touched upon. This disarray, which came about through inadequate organization and inadequacy of the organized structure, must be eliminated at the ground level. We have experienced socioeconomic changes as a society since 1974. The Agriculture Ministry, which plans production in agriculture -- one of the most important sectors of the economy in this process -- must be reorganized so as to keep in step with developments. As time and technology advance, organizations must be reorganized.

In a report entitled "Proposals on the Reorganization of the Structure and Duties of the Agriculture Ministry," prepared in 1973 by the Chamber of Agricultural Engineers of the Turkish Union of Chambers of Architects and Engineers, the following offices were singled out for proposals for change in the structure of the Turkish Republic's Agriculture Ministry, the proposals were presented to the Assembly in a bill prepared by the current Food, Agriculture and Livestock Minister Mehmet Yuceler and have been largely realized:

1. Directorate General of Agricultural Research
2. Directorate General of Agricultural Extension and Development
3. Directorate General of Agricultural Cooperatives and Organization
4. Directorate General of Agricultural Products Evaluation and Marketing
5. Directorate General of Marine Products
6. Directorate General of Agricultural Planning and Economic Research
7. Directorate General of Foreign Relations

The TFSC's Agriculture, Natural Resources and Energy Ministry must also have improvements made in its organizational structure and functions in accordance with its agricultural production activities.

Agricultural engineers must be employed in their fields of specialty, and the present confused and haphazard employment methods at the Agriculture Ministry must be stopped.

In particular, "Green Plan" practices representing strides in the agricultural policies of European nations, use of certain FAO high-yield varieties, and practices in food production and projections known as the "Green Revolution" are examples of the thrust achieved through agricultural organization and research efforts which denote and document why agriculture is considered important in our world. Article 51 of the TFSC Constitution contains the provision, "The State shall take the measures required to ensure that all citizens receive their nutritional requirements and that agricultural production increase in accordance with the needs of society, to prevent soil erosion and to realize the value of agricultural products and the labor of those engaged in agriculture." Our constitution requires that an orderly national policy be pursued in agriculture, which directly affects the lives of our 145,000 people.

For this reason, we consider it a duty as the Chamber of Agricultural Engineers to call especially upon the Agriculture Ministry to take effective measures to work efficiently.

8349

CSO: 4907

SIUMUT LOOSENS TIES WITH SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S PARTY IN FOLKETING

Godthab GRONLANDSPOSTEN in Danish 15 Nov 79 p 12

[Text] The Siumut ["Forward"] representative in the Danish Folketing, Preben Lange, will not be a member of the Socialist People's Party group, as his predecessor, Lars Emil Johansen, was. Siumut--with the backing of SF [Socialist People's Party]--wants a freer position in cooperation with the parties in Folketing.

Atassut ["Mutual Cooperation"] is going in the opposite direction. The party's parliamentary representative, Otto Steenholdt, has initiated closer cooperation with the Social Democratic group in Folketing and from now on he will be participating as an observer in their meetings.

Election Cooperation

Preben Lange told GRONLANDSPOSTEN: "Siumut won't really be a member of the SF group. Instead we have entered into technical election cooperation with SF, VS [Left-Wing Socialists] and the Single-Tax Party in an election alliance with 23 members. The alliance is entitled to two representatives on parliamentary committees. SF has promised me that I could have the party's committee post on the committee handling Greenland laws and as far as the other parliamentary committees are concerned I have an opportunity to step in as a member when matters of interest to Greenland come up.

"I am very satisfied with this arrangement. It means I can concentrate my efforts exclusively on matters important to Greenland. I regard my membership in the Greenland national assembly as my most important political post. But that by no means implies that I underestimate my work in the Danish Folketing. I will be taking up residence in Denmark, for example."

Steenholdt on Nordic Council

Otto Steenholdt said to GRONLANDSPOSTEN: "Through me Atassut will be represented on three of the most important committees in Folketing as

well as on the Nordic Council. I will be on the Market Committee, the Agricultural and Fisheries Committee and the committee handling Greenland laws. In addition I will be a member of the Nordic Council.

"I myself suggested that I be appointed to the three committees I mentioned because these committees deal with matters of importance to Greenland. The Market Committee deals with Common Market matters among other things, the Agricultural and Fisheries Committee deals with fishing policy issues and the Greenland Committee handles all laws on Greenland.

"As a member of the Nordic Council I can also present Greenland views to the council and I can help pave the way for true Greenland membership on a par with that enjoyed by the Faeroe Islands. That is also the desire of the Greenland national assembly," Otto Steenholdt concluded.

6578

CSO: 3106

GREENLAND CABINET HAS SECRET DISCUSSIONS WITH DANES ON EC

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 22 Nov 79 p 6

[Text] The Greenland national cabinet, chosen exclusively from the ranks of the leftist-oriented Siumut ["Forward"] Party is holding secret discussions with the Danish government on Greenland's relationship to EC and a requirement that Danes be given permits if they want to live and work in Greenland. The requirement is in conflict with the right of all citizens to travel and work without restrictions throughout the entire nation.

The total secrecy of these negotiations is now forcing the opposition party, Atassut ["Mutual Cooperation"] to start its own negotiations with the government and EC.

Member of Parliament Excluded

Even member of Folketing Otto Steenholdt (Atassut) has been excluded from all talks without even being informed of the topics that are under discussion. This despite the fact that he was elected to the Danish parliament by a majority of the Greenland voters and despite the fact that the Siumut majority in the national assembly election was a scant 500 votes.

"It is an untenable situation that I am not allowed to work in a responsible way in Folketing as the majority of the voters wanted. And it is in conflict with the way Atassut treated Siumut up to and during the introduction of home rule," Otto Steenholdt said to BERLINGSKE TIDENDE.

"The worst thing is that we are very disturbed about what we have heard through various channels on Siumut's negotiating methods over the sensitive topics of EC and residence permits.

"We have received the impression that both the cabinet and the Siumut representative in the EC Parliament are deliberately leading up to a confrontation. Presumably their intention is to provoke a rejection that

could be used to turn the voters of Greenland against EC and the Danish government.

Seeking Separate EC Talks

"These issues are too important for the future of Greenland and for good relations between Greenland and Denmark for us to just step aside. Therefore Atassut will seek its own discussions with the government and EC. Half the population of Greenland backed our desire for a peaceful and healthy development as expressed in the national assembly and Danish parliamentary elections and we cannot allow them to be kept out of things by these secretive moves.

"I have therefore planned a discussion trip to EC together with the chairman of Atassut and former chairman of the National Council, Lars Chemnitz, early next month and in connection with this we will seek discussions with the Danish government. We would like to have peaceful discussions with EC and believe they can lead to sensible agreements but we fear that Siumut is trying to undermine this. We have postponed the Siumut proposal for a residence permit but we are worried that this will be pushed through next spring in order to provoke a confrontation with the Danish people, the legislature and the government. We will try to prevent an unfortunate development even though in my view we have been treated very unfairly," Otto Steenholdt concluded.

6578

CSO: 3106

BRIEF

GREENLAND MINERS PACT--The Greenex Mine in northwestern Greenland is now seeking to create greater stability in the mine's Greenland labor force through contract negotiations. In the past year this entire section of the total labor force had to be replaced due to voluntary resignations. The attempt is a step in a contract just signed between the Greenland Workers Organization, SIK, and the Association of Danish Firms in Greenland, FADVIG, of which Greenex is the only big member. The contract amendment represents a wage improvement of around 2 percent, corresponding to increases in the LO [Danish Federation of Trade Unions] area. For Greenland mineworkers this means that they can earn a good 19,000 kroner a month, but for a 10-hour day 6 days a week. The most important improvements are in the social sector. It is hoped that shortening the contract period from 4 to 3 months will inspire Greenland workers to stay on the job. It has been shown in practice that Greenland workers are much more apt to suffer from homesickness than Danish workers. Therefore it is hoped that shorter contract periods followed by vacations will make life in the isolated polar job area more attractive. [Text] [Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 17 Nov 79 p 6] 6578

CSO: 3106

BUSINESS FORECAST IS OPTIMISTIC FOR 1980

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 17 Oct 79 p 29

[Article: "Stig H. Hasto: 'No Danger of Overheating, Industry Judges Prospects to Be Good'"]

[Text] In Finnish industry it is felt that the economic situation will remain much as it is now, or particularly good, at least until the beginning of next year. Over three-quarters of our industries are of this opinion according to the economic situation barometer they presented on Tuesday. But even better than that is expected, especially in the metalworking and construction industries. On the other hand, the lumber industry believes that market conditions governing the vigorous growth .. has been enjoying will worsen as early as the start of next year.

The Industrial Confederation's (TKL) new general manager, Mining Counselor [honorary title] Stig Hasto, however, warns against staring blindly at typical economic barometer figures.

"At this point there is still no reason to expect overheating of our economy, even though there are grounds for keeping our eyes on certain warning signs. At this point in our conjunctural policy we ought to make a particular effort to eliminate production bottlenecks. We should be cautious in checking growth and consider applying the brakes only when we definitely know that overheating can no longer be avoided by other means."

According to the barometer, in many branches of industry quite a few different kinds of production bottlenecks, which are in the near future expected to restrict growth, have begun to show up. Forty percent of the respondents in the economic survey reported different kinds of bottlenecks.

A good 10 percent expect to have difficulties in financing and shortages of production capacity and raw materials, and 15 percent of the industries a shortage of skilled labor.

It is estimated that the shortage of skilled labor will in the near future cut back growth by at least half in the clothing industry, by a third in the textile and construction industries and by a fourth in the metalworking industry.

Labor Force Mobility Should Be Promoted

TKL department head Markku Kaariainen too notes that in future we should pay serious attention to improving conditions for regional mobility of the labor force. According to Mining Counselor Hasto, many workers have become unemployed in branches of industry or jobs in which work cannot in any event yet be found for them.

"In these cases their skills may have become obsolete, but there are also other reasons. To find new employment for these jobless workers, among other things, we would have to retrain them in different age groups," Hasto said.

Generally, according to him, the appearance of bottlenecks in the initial stage of an economic high can be interpreted as a sign of social imbalance.

"Evidently, some of the production capacity, which during the recession was not exploited, has already managed to become outdated and can no longer be profitably exploited. Investments to generate new capacity have been insufficient. This now means that we must also begin to make investments to generate new capacity, although, on the other hand, available production machinery may still be idle."

Hasto particularly stressed the importance of the public sector, which should be the first to restrict its investments, whose product is low and which do not generate new production capacity.

Industrial Production Continues to Grow

According to the barometer, the growth in industrial production that prevailed during the first three quarters of the current year is expected to continue. Production has quite extensively increased by three-quarters in comparison with the volume of the previous quarter in all sectors except the construction industry.

During the same period overall industrial production was noticeably higher than a year earlier.

There has also been less idle capacity than before and the volume of orders has slightly risen. Despite this, 60 percent of industrial capacity is still idle, but it is even more reduced in the lumber and clothing industries. On the other hand, there is more idle capacity than before in the construction and chemical industries as well as in food production.

The volume of orders has especially increased in the lumber, metalworking and construction industries. The increase in consumer goods industry orders has been rather slight and orders have decreased in the chemical industry.

Labor Force Has Grown Since Last Year

The industrial labor force has clearly grown in comparison with that of both the last quarter and the past year. The changes have, however, been uneven in the different industries. Especially in the textile and clothing industries, the number of workers has risen in comparison with that of the last quarter.

By the end of this year the labor force is expected to continue to grow to some extent. Nevertheless, the barometer does not predict any very big changes. On the other hand, in the metalworking, clothing and construction industries the labor force is expected to continue to grow to a very considerable extent.

Lumber Exports Declining

However, the volume of exports has grown to a rather limited extent in comparison with that of last quarter. Nevertheless, at least a slight rise in lumber, textile and clothing industry exports is apparent.

It is also expected that the growth of export volume will remain slight during the next 6 months. The prediction for the lumber industry is that its export volume in early 1980 will drop even lower than it was during the last quarter.

In early fall there were on the average considerably more industrial investments than the year before. In future too, fairly bright prospects are expected, since within the coming year it is estimated that investments will be slightly greater in almost all industries than at the start of this fall.

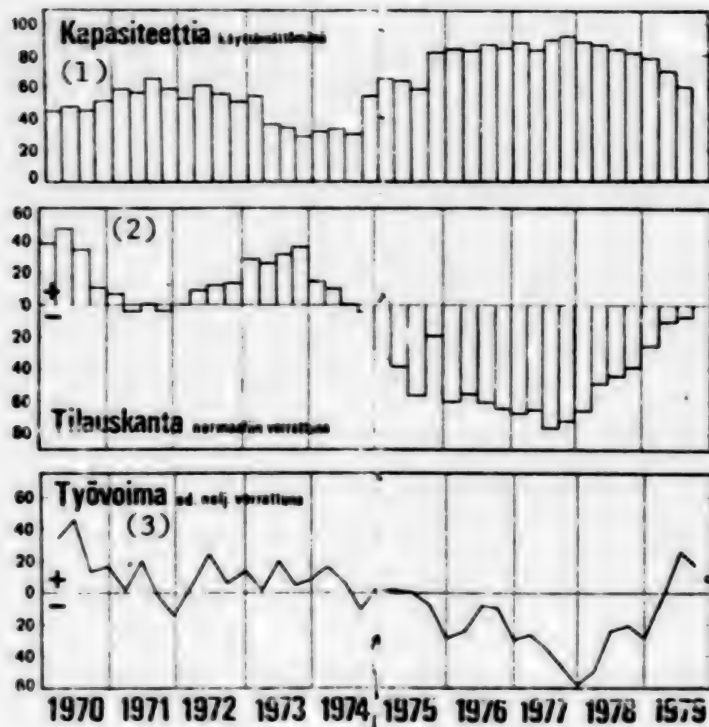
Hasto Puts a Damper on Hopefulness

Although the industrial barometer does not deviate much from the general line of economic development predicted for next year, Mining Counselor Hasto wants to somewhat dampen the conclusion to be drawn from such development. Although the economic high has gone on for a year and a half now, according to him, this does not necessarily mean that we have eliminated all of our recession problems.

"We must bear in mind that the recession lasted 4 years. Thus a year-and-a-half recovery period is by no means long enough."

The barometer even now contains signs which should be noted when we consider countermeasures. He pointed particularly to the outlook for the lumber industry, whose peak growth is petering out.

"As we very well know, the evolution of the international economic situation has noticeably lost impetus and next year threatens to confront our export markets with a recession."



These graphs show the differences regarding the various factors affecting the economic situation between optimists and pessimists who responded to inquiries on the industrial situation.

Key:

1. Unexploited capacity
2. Volume of orders compared with normal situation
3. Size of labor force compared with last quarter's

11,466

CSO: 3107

RESEARCHERS FORESEE DOMESTIC ENERGY INCREASE

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 17 Oct 79 p 29

[Text] Kannus (HS)—It is believed that the practical value of wood as a source of energy will increase beyond that of oil in the coming decade. During the same time it is surmised that wood-based fuels' share of the energy market will increase from the present 14 percent by almost half as much.

According to Dr Esko Jaatinen, simply said, we trade wood for the energy we at present import. We merely have to determine when the foreign trade balance with wood exports is to our advantage and when it is unprofitable.

Up to now the exporting of finished wood products has been profitable for us and with the income derived from these exports we have been able to buy energy. Thus importing energy has been worth our while. Jaaskelainen based his calculations on how much pure energy can be bought with 1 cubic meter of wood in the form of different finished products. Kraft paper and newsprint as well as other finished paper products provided the most favorable foreign trade balance.

At the beginning of this decade we got about half as much more imported energy for a cubic meter of wood than we get today. The foreign trade balance has thus dropped to half of what it was and is constantly dropping. The so-called PERA [expansion unknown] project's annual conference, originally planned for once every 5 years, has been going on at Kannus. Prof Pentti Hakkila is serving as conference chairman.

Abundant Reserves

PERA research represents the almost uninterrupted continuation of a research program on the industrial uses of biomass which ended well over a year ago and which was also headed by Hakkila and funded by the SITRA [expansion unknown].

The PERA program deals with existing, unused timber reserves, charted in our forests, for which there is not enough demand as raw material for the lumber

industry. According to research carried out, there is annually available nearly the same amount of biomass worth harvesting as that of wood-based fuels annually consumed in Finland.

In the initial phase of the project, research is being conducted on how this unmarketable timber supply can best be recovered. Aside from this, preparations are also being made for the future production of wood to provide energy, albeit grown in small fields. The experimental varieties grown as wood for energy use have been different kinds of willow and poplar.

It has been estimated that firewood reserves in Finland are relatively large and the use of wood as fuel has also been statistically shown to be worthwhile. Nevertheless, the use of wood in Finland for this purpose has only been increasing very slowly.

Harvesting Costly

As the price of oil continues to rise, the use of wood will become even more worthwhile than before. In almost every case, the cost of cordwood and scrap timber is less than that of oil.

However, the fact that the expense of harvesting firewood is still relatively high has prevented a greater increase in the use of wood. Nor has the system for distributing the harvesting of firewood been devoid of friction, nor do the small amounts of firewood at the present time required yet guarantee new enterprises enough to make a living. Switching fuels also involves inconveniences for wood users.

Gas from Wood

While at Kannus they are trying to determine how cordwood and scrap timber can economically be harvested in the forests and made use of in our energy economy, at the VTTL [expansion unknown] they are looking into how wood-based energy can be refined.

A current object of investigation is the wood gas used during the war. Wood gas can, for example, be used in small industry, the food industry and in various ceramics industries. However, as a gas "of lesser importance," it does not pay for us to start transporting wood gas for long distances.

Also under study are ways of converting wood energy into liquid form, but in practice switching over to them is still a long way off. During the next few years the use of wood gas may become a fact.

In conjunction with the development of ways of harvesting wood for use as energy, the VTTL Electronics Division in Oulu has begun to develop a computer that can be carried on one's back, with the aid of which the biomass can more easily be determined.

The Joensuu University Microbiology Institute is studying atmospheric nitrogen fixation. The goal is to be able to reduce the amount of nitrogenous fertilizers used in forest cultivation.

Willows Grown for Energy in Small Fields

It is expected that willows grown for energy will provide a huge source of energy. On fields planted with the fastest growing water willow, an annual growth of 2.5 meters has been attained.

Since the tree does not lose its leaves until late after the onset of the first frost, the growing season lasts well into the fall.

Water willow leaves contain a fairly high percentage of albuminous matter and the percentage of fibrous matter is moderate, which is why they intend to try it out as winter fodder for reindeer in reindeer raising areas. Thus the leaves will also be used.

In connection with willow plantations, soil impoverishment was discussed. What happens to a field when the entire growth is annually harvested? Is the soil impoverished? Does it lose its balance of trace elements vital to vegetation growth, or how can they be preserved? Fertilization with ashes is viewed as a solution, one which was investigated a couple of decades ago. Ash fertilization has been experimented with and it is claimed that very good results have been obtained. The necessary trace elements for tree growth are returned to the soil along with the ashes.

Kannus to Become a Research Center

The plans allow for Kannus to become a research center for energy obtained from wood. According to researchers, loggers are interested in Kannus as a site for growing timber to be used for energy. The local people have voluntarily mapped their timber resources, forest areas and swamps and studied those areas best suited for producing wood for energy.

The purpose of this is to in the near future increase the present 2.2-million-mark research appropriation to from 3.5 to 4 million a year, at which point we may expect effective results from the production of wood for energy at Kannus.

11,466

CSO: 3107

BRIEFS

SOVIET PRESS DELEGATION—A Soviet press delegation began a 6-day visit to Finland on Monday. Chief Editor Aleksey Romanov of the magazine, SOVIETSKAYA KULTURA, heads the delegation. During their stay at the invitation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Center, the visitors will familiarize themselves with our cultural and artistic programs, Finnish opera, theater and cinema, as well as with our publishing activities. On Monday the Soviet journalists met with Education Minister Kalevi Kivisto (Finnish People's Democratic League). On Friday they will also meet with Paavo Vayrynen (Center Party) who will furthermore participate in a seminar to be organized by the SNS [Finland-USSR Society] during their visit. Monday, the especially culture-filled first day of the delegation's visit, ended at the opera with a performance of the "Red Line." On Wednesday the delegation will fly to Jyväskylä where they will become acquainted with the university and meet with Gov Kauko Sipponen, among others. In addition to Chief Editor Romanov, the delegation is composed of: Chief Editor A.A. Kukanov of the magazine, KULTURA I ZHIZNY; chief of the foreign department editorial staff of the magazine, ZHURNALIST, A.N. Burmistenko; NAUKA I ZHIZNY Special Editor A.T. Gavrilov; supervisor of the international department of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, V.B. Lomeiko; manager of the APN [Novosti News Agency] Helsinki bureau, Vasily Zaichikov, and IZVESTIA's Helsinki correspondent, J.I. Goloshubov. [Text] [Helsinki DEMARI in Finnish 11 Sep 79 p 5] 11466

CSO: 3107

PCF VIEWS BRZEZINSKI'S TRI-LATERAL FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES

Paris CAHIERS DU COMMUNISME in French Oct 79 pp 80-88

[Article by PCF Central Committee Foreign Policy Section member Francois Blanchard: "Tri-Lateral Imperialism"]

[Text] A great deal has been said of the Tri-Lateral Commission since one of its least known members became president of the United States of America.

A certain Raymond Barre also was an official member.

On the basis of work carried out within the PCF Foreign Policy Section and the PCF Economic Section, Francois Blanchard offers an overall view of the Tri-Lateral phenomenon.

Imperialism is not navigating well, it seems.

The picture of an American presidency that is adrift must not deceive one in this regard. If the system grinds along, if the United States, leader of the West, so quickly uses up its presidents, it is due, in addition to the factor of human shortcomings, to the consequences of the increasing contradictions that are being experienced by a society in a state of crisis.

Well, a state of crisis in a society and maladjustment of state machineries, in the United States or elsewhere, do not signify resignation or disorientation on the part of the monopolies that still dominate a large portion of this planet.

Just the opposite. If they calmly size up the progress made by socialist countries, their weaknesses, mistakes, and disputes; if they learn from the hard lessons taught by national liberation movements; if they take into account the growing resistance of the working class to exploitation and the demands for democratic change that are being expressed more and more firmly, it is in order to reorganize and to readjust all kinds of means and in order to carry out a counteroffensive in all directions.

This effort on the part of imperialism, historically dedicated to infliction of defeat, in order to endure and if possible to gain ground each time that favorable circumstances arise, is the essence of the Tri-Lateral strategy.

Its study may be of help in the conduct of struggles.

When Capitalism Takes the World's Pulse

Since 1972, the promoters of tri-lateralism have been engaged in an overall evaluation of the status and the evolutionary trends of the world.

Their clear scrutiny had a presupposed and undisputed purpose: to determine how the great industrial powers could, and should, act in order to perpetuate the established order. Their problem is: what should be changed in order to preserve the most? None of the participants--not even a socialist--has ever advocated, or even envisaged, an analysis that included the abolition of capitalism.

The bases of tri-lateral world conduct have never been expressed in a synthesized document by the Tri-Lateral Commission, itself. In the reports of the above mentioned commission (the Triangle Papers), doctrine is implicit, often disguised in a bland, humanist, liberal, international speech. It is to be found in the policies that it formulates, in the governmental actions that it inspires.

Thus revealed, this doctrine appears very close to the theses formulated by Zbigniew Brzezinski, first director of the Tri-Lateral, who today has the official function of Security Counselor to President Carter.

For Brzezinski, the world appears unstable, complex, the carrier "of a potentially explosive situation, of social and political turbulence, with increasing demands and a growing dissatisfaction with the status quo."¹

He sees "four key groups, troubled by two basic conflicts that interfere and sometimes crisscross: the East/West conflict (where he conveniently classifies all of the class struggles and which he manifestly considers to be irreducible) and the North/South conflict, which capitalism must try to control or to salvage within the realm of the multinationals.

Following are the four key groups:

- "The great industrial democracies," that is, the most developed capitalist countries (essentially North America, Europe, Japan);
- "The communist world;" Brzezinski carefully notes the division "between the USSR and China" and a tendency toward diversification;

- The relatively rich countries that are being developed" (OPEC) [Organization of Petroleum-exporting countries] and other possessors of raw materials);

- "The quarter of the world of the poor."² The entire problem of the Tri-Lateral, then, is to guide the affairs of the first group in accordance with the best interests of the monopolists. That is where there is discussion on cooperation, aid for development, independence within interdependence, etc. To organize the competitive cooperation of the triangle of industrialized powers, to integrate their economic, political, and military forces by preventing inter-imperialist contradictions from going beyond a threshold that is incompatible on the one hand with the needs of an East/West strategic confrontation (actually, capitalism/socialism) and, on the other hand, with the existence of a tri-lateral common front that is indispensable in the North/South conflict (that is, the contradiction of imperialism/national independence movement and the demand for democracy--that is the main Tri-Lateral question.

The situation and the evolutionary trends among the first three groups is the subject of many of the tri-lateral reports.

- With respect to socialist countries, Brzezinski, a long-time expert in Soviet matters, in the 60's emphasized above all the USSR's considerable potential and the enormous prospects for their emerging economic development.

Today, notably in Tri-Lateral Report No 15, their power and their institutional and political stability are still emphasized, but noted without displeasure are their economic difficulties and shortcomings (decrease in the rate of growth, sluggish productivity, administrative freezes, need for agro-alimentary importation, burden of military expenditures).

Very seldom alluded to in the "Triangle Papers," the avoidance of responsibilities and the mistakes of socialist countries in the domain of freedom and democracy none the less furnish one of the most interesting anchor points in the tri-lateral ideological struggle.

As a consequence of all of that, Brzezinski in no uncertain terms³ decides in favor of "the disappearance of monolithic ideological or revolutionary models "having a worldwide vocation." For him, "the USSR, Cuba, and China have lost their power of attraction."

To be noted in passing is that in the serious documents no misgivings are expressed with regard to the relationship of military forces. The imbalance in favor of the Soviets is a polemic theme--to condition public opinion, which tends to forge the context of the SALT negotiations and of the armaments race.

- The Third World, the movement for national liberation, obsesses the thoughts of the Tri-Lateralists. It was Jimmy Carter who, drawing from the lessons of the failure of the policy of cannonading Vietnam, expressed the following opinions in his speech of 22 May 1977, at Notre Dame University: "Today the world is experiencing the most rapid and the most profound change in its entire history...Colonialism has practically disappeared; a new sense of national identity is being manifested in nearly 100 young countries; the spreading of knowledge has been extended; there are greater aspirations. As more human beings broke away from traditional constraints, the pursuit of social justice became the objective of a greater number among them...We can no longer expect to see 150 other nations of the world follow the laws dictated by the mighty ones."

Naturally, the inference that he draws from this is that it is necessary to implement--when that is possible--another way of dictating the law. In this world that is opposed to gendarmes, a moderate manner is preferable to direct aggression. The social-democratic alternative that preserves capitalism is sometimes better than the shameful support of a bloody dictatorship. Obviously that does not always work. There are some Iran and some Nicaraguas on the road of human looking imperialism. But that is troublesome and it is better to avoid it. Especially at a time when the best vassals are no longer reliable in conflicts: the Saudi-Arabias are reluctant to appear to be too close to America when Iran breaks away and the American countries defeat Yankee proposals of intervening in Nicaragua. It is long since the marines could in a few hours restore order in Guatemala!

- In the countries of the triangle, class struggles and the increasing demand for democratic change obviously hold the attention of the Tri-Lateralists.

Triangle Paper No 8, of 1975, published under the title, "Crisis in Democracy," is devoted to this topic.

One wonders pessimistically about the "governability" of industrial democracies. By that is meant: the possibility for monopolies to preserve the capitalist system and to cause acceptance of its policy, with the approval of those that it strips.

It is true that, along with this acceptance, the European industrial democracies, such as Italy, France, and even Spain, are becoming truly ungovernable. In another way, in spite of the bipartism that salvages social struggles, and in spite of the extensive diffusion of the dominant ideology, the phenomenon threatens the United States, where the state apparatus is in the grip of interminable conflicts between a discredited presidency and a congress that is tossed about by pressure groups. Even

Japan, still with access to a "big store of traditional values" that influence the masses to work hard, even Japan sees ungovernability appearing on the horizon.

One knows the remedies that have been administered in our country in the face of the bulimia for democracy that stimulates every worker to want to really determine his own life and the conduct of society. It is the conditioning of public opinion by means of concentrated medias that are in the control of power. It is the attempt to domesticate trade unions, called on to become aware of the imperatives of the crisis. It is the parody of participation by the workers in the management of enterprises. Triangle Paper No 18, entitled "Collective Bargaining and Participation in West Europe, North America, and Japan," carefully specifies the objective to be attained: "Whereas every form of participation in the management of enterprises must be encouraged--because it minimizes risks of conflict--the true role of employer management cannot in any way be called in question." This also, experience shows it, is obvious repression with respect to workers who must abandon reasonable means of discussion for agreement when thus conceived. When they wish to protect their employment or their purchasing power.

- The new distribution of work in the world economy and the emergence of regional powers constitute a present major factor in the analysis of the Tri-Lateralists

The phenomenon first of all affects the powers, themselves, with respect to their relative strengths.

The United States retains an overwhelming weight, always capable, whether one likes it or not, of aligning its partners with it. But this weight nevertheless has diminished since the era of American omnipotence that followed World War II, when Hitler's Germany and fascist Japan were defeated and the European allies were drained of their blood.

The American gross national product later clearly increased less rapidly than in the other "tri-lateral" countries. Between 1950 and 1960, it was multiplied by only 2 in round figures, compared with 3 in the FRG [Federal Republic of Germany], 6.5 in Japan, and 2.7 in France. The relative United States portion of the industrial production of the capitalist world has also decreased: it went from 56 percent in 1948 to 45 percent in 1965, and to 41 percent in 1970. These indicators of power of course are not the only ones to be taken into account (note, for example, American investments abroad, the domination of national economies and of great international financial organizations by American monopolies and the American-dominated multinationals. However, they manifest a trend that leads the partners to conduct their mutual affairs and their competitive preoccupations somewhat differently.

Following is another phenomenon that is strongly emphasized by Brzezinski, namely: the industrial development in certain Third World countries of economic and political regimes—quite different, moreover—the considerable potential of other countries that have recently gained control of their national wealth. That involves new localizations of economic and political power that must indeed be taken into account. That was the reason for President Carter's tours to Algeria, Iran, Saudi Arabia, India, then Venezuela, Brazil, and recently to Mexico.

Imperialism Adapts Its Ways and Means of Control

It is, then, in this world in motion that monopolies and multinationals are again to be manifested. Consequently it is to their advantage to create the economic, political, ideological, and military conditions for this expansion.

If the conduct of the developed capitalist bloc can no longer be so polarized on the United States, it is by no means a question of introducing equality in international relations, but a nonegalitarian, competitive, and hierarchical cooperation by the countries of the triangle in order to contain and weaken the socialist countries: to block change in the most "precarious" of the capitalist countries; to perpetuate the capitalist exploitation of the Third World. To that end, one proceeds to a redistribution of the ways and means of action.

1. The Priority Ideological Counteroffensive

It is not simply a question of reclaiming, for the benefit of capitalism, the matter of the rights of man that is at the heart of the preoccupations of billions of men.

Neither is it only a question of exploiting, whenever possible, the persistent lack of understanding and appreciation of countries of the need for democracy.

More profoundly, it is a question of reinstating the basic values of capitalism: private enterprise, competition, profit.

The advent of the Carter administration coincided with the implementation of this new orientation. "It is a mistake," he said at Notre Dame University, "to underestimate the power of words and of the ideas they express." Speaking of the people's hope for freedom, he said: "In ignoring this tendency, we would lose our influence and our authority in the world,

whereas by taking the lead in this movement, we will regain our former moral stature."

Those remarks clearly define the objective: seize a banner and do not adopt a policy of respect for the rights of man (witness the above mentioned Iran and Nicaragua).

The effort to weaken and if possible to uproot communist parties in countries where they are capable of promoting democratic changes is part of the same plan. The anti-communist campaign, repression itself, must depend on spreading the following idea among the masses: "Free and open competition engenders creative change in the domain of politics, commerce, science, and art."

2. Shared Leadership

Keeping in mind the evolution of the respective weights alluded to above, imperialism has been brought to a certain sharing of tasks and of obligations; that is, fields of action. The Tri-Lateralists thus assign to France a sector for intervention in Africa, from Morocco to Zaire, alone or in cooperation with the United States, which can thus remain at an intermediate distance, by limiting itself to furnishing troop air transports, for example (Shaba).

In the same way, well disposed regional powers are utilized as points of support for imperialism and as stabilizing elements of the established order in their area of influence. The whole thing consists of determining the moment when one must go from blockage to control of changes, with appropriate relief forces.

The constitution of regional sub-blocs is not at all incompatible with tri-lateral imperialism. As Brzezinski recalled in his interview this past 2 May with LE MONDE, European integration suits the United States insofar as it gives to the weakest side of the triangle the means to resist the democratic change that particularly threatens certain countries that are involved. Thus the global supranationality that the tri-lateral entente assumes makes very good use of the "stabilizing" regional supranationalities.

3. A Tri-Lateral Neocolonialism

In the face of a Third World that has essentially thrown off the classic colonialism that subordinated a group of countries to a mother country, the Tri-Lateral tends to institute a sort of consultation and agreement in the competitive exploitation of Africa, Latin America, and Southeast Asia. Thus it is that Triangle Paper No 3 advances the idea of an "abolition of spheres of influence," that most likely will not proceed without difficulty.

But the activities of the multinationals would become entangled as much with respect to the confines of countries under development as with the others.

4. A Conflictive Coexistence and a Diplomacy of Tension

Another trait of tri-lateral conduct resides in a certain logic of peaceful existence.

The risk of disappearance prevents the realistic representatives of the monopolies--the Tri-Lateralists--from envisaging a nuclear war.

But, for Brzezinski and his emulators "the balance of power" (negotiated) is a dangerous illusion.

Strategic United States-USSR bipolar negotiation is not, then, first among his preoccupations (which is what he blames Kissinger for). It must be devotion to the relationship of strengths created by competition. That is understandable. The disquieting aspect is that the tendency that prevails in this thinking is to stimulate competition to the point of systematic development of tension (for example, this summer: the Peking anti-Soviet remarks of Vice President Mondale; the matter of the dancer, Vlassova; that of the Soviet brigade in Cuba, among others). The affair is all the more dangerous in that it interferes with that of the American presidential elections.

The Shape of Democracy

One has seen above how the men of the Tri-Lateral advocate the limitation of democracy.

The development of this concept, that aims to divert the masses from public affairs, emerges from a calling in question of the structures of power, of the ways and means of inquiry, of the elaboration of policies, and even of the decisions to implement governmental acts.

Lately one has been witnessing a veritable private staffing of official structures.

This is an obvious advantage in behalf of "governability," since not only the elected are prevented from exercising parliamentary control, but the official offices of the ministries are dispossessed, so that the main decisions are made beyond the reach of prying eyes. A typical example of this mechanism is the recent creation of the French Institute for International Relations (IFRI). The secretary general of this private institute is Thierry de Montbrial, relieved for the occasion of his official

assignment as director of the Center for Analysis and Forecasting [CAP], in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Louis Joxe is chairman of IFRI; the latter's board of directors includes Jean-Pierre Cot, socialist leader, whom it would certainly be more prudent to associate with the analyses and estimates department of the ministry.

A veritable network of clubs, institutes, and other informal circles of this type has been developed throughout the continents. They would merit a special study that we will not undertake here.

The Tri-Lateral Commission after all is only the most famous element of this network. Its operation, its real status, and its composition are very revealing of the method. It meets once or twice a year, examines reports prepared by three co-authors respectively from North America, Europe, Japan.

The participants are enjoined to secrecy concerning their discussions. The texts and recommendations that are drafted at the close of the discussions are not adopted. In principle, they do not commit anyone. No organic connection officially exists with the governments on the spot. But a number of present leaders have met there (16 members of the Carter administration, 17 counting the recently resigned A. Young). A number of former leaders are holding meetings now. For example, Kissinger, even though presented as the inimical brother of the founder, Brzezinski!

The Tri-Lateral in fact enjoys a para-official status in the countries where it meets. It was received in Tokyo by Prime Minister Ohira, in Bonn by H. Schmidt, in New York by J. Carter. On 27 May 1977, the European members of the Tri-Lateral had a joint work day with the European commission and were received by King Baudoin and Prime Minister Tindemans.

Tri-Lateral recommendations manifestly inspire the policies of countries. In short, the periodic summits of the chiefs of state of the Triangle (Guadeloupe or London type) only bring the method to the highest level. It is a question also of informal talks, concerning which the people, the deputies, and even the ministers know only what the participants want to allow to leak.

- In the Direct Grip of Social-Democracy

Bringing to light the methods of action of the current imperialism offers a considerable advantage: it creates for unions with social-democracy a context that is much more favorable than that of the time when free America appeared to the world on the backdrop of the B2's that bombed Vietnam.

The flexible and secret setting furnished by the network of clubs and institutes alluded to above also facilitates the process.

The lists of participants published by the Tri-Lateral Commission reveal a reduced, prudent participation, adapted according to the countries, of social democratic leaders and of trade unionists open to class cooperation. A participation that is not individual and fortuitous, but resolute; for example: when Herbert Ehrenberg (SPD [expansion unknown] of the FRG) disappeared from the list published in 1975, Horst Ehmke (SPD) replaced him on the 1978 list. Likewise, trade unionist (DGB) Ervin Kristoffersen succeeded Eugen Loderer (DGB).

These socialist members or trade unionists are not merely observers of the representatives of the monopolies that constitute the main forces, along with the high-ranking officials, university educators, and parliamentarians. For example, it is Heinz-Oskar Vetter, tri-lateralist who has the dual role of trade unionist, president of the DGB, and social-democratic member of the European parliament, who commented on the European elections in Tokyo in April.

Triangle Paper No 18 mentioned above, the quintessence of class cooperation, was drafted with the participation of 21 trade unionists--American, Canadian, Japanese, Swedish, Norwegian, Irish, Dutch, and Italian.

There is no PS [Socialist Party] member on the lists of the Tri-Lateral. Membership in such organizations is not popular in France. Rene Bonety (CFDT) [French Democratic Confederation of Labor] disappeared from the lists. Only the leader of the MRC [expansion unknown], Michel Crepeau, remains.

But in the characteristically changing and unstable Tri-Lateral, a very significant socialist participation is manifested in clubs, whether in Dakar or other places. Everyone has his responsibilities.

These few analytical points in any case show that tri-lateral imperialism does not represent a mitigated force on the part of imperialism.

Adapting itself to the new situations created by its historic retreat, it is doing its best to exploit circumstances that may be favorable to it through the logic of a proffered peaceful coexistence, which it is difficult for it to call in question.

It is from an overall weakening of imperialism that better conditions for the struggle of peoples will result. But the latter would be very mistaken if they were to entertain the least illusion concerning the basic antagonisms that confront them in the matter of the men of the multinationals, for whom profit takes precedence over all rights.

FOOTNOTES

1. Quoted from a paper on geopolitics delivered by Brzezinski in December 1977.
2. Idem.
3. Idem.

8255

CSO: 3100

POLITICAL ORIENTATION OF NEW MARXIST RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Paris L'HUMANITE in French 12 Nov 79 p 5

[Article by Francette Lazard: "Activity and Outlook of the Marxist Research Institute"; passages in slantlines are emphasized in the text]

[Excerpt] The IRM [Marxist Research Institute] is calling this meeting in conjunction with the Party and the Communist Youth Movement because the prospects for the rise of Marxism and public awareness, which the Institute proposes to further, are inseparable from the struggle for humanity's further progress.

Going beyond this joint meeting of 27 November, it is obviously necessary to mount a counteroffensive in all countries in the clash between Marxism and other ideas.

We think the new Institute could contribute by taking a new kind of public initiative adapted to today's needs and benefiting the previous accomplishments of the new Universities and the phases of Marxist thought.

We are considering the matter and will make proposals for this project in January in connection with our book publication service.

That obviously implies that we are engaged in our own research on all the great issues of our time.

II

That is the purpose of the new Institute: to raise the level and broaden the scope of our research as formulated by our Central Committee in June.

The discussions that we have had since then confirm both the necessity and the possibility of this ambition.

It is a necessity if you consider the magnitude of the new problems facing us in a rapidly changing world.

The IRM is no spiritual adjunct nor a space granted to a few dozen or a few hundred scholars where they can chat politely about theory unrelated to the life of the contemporary world and its struggles of classes and ideas.

/It responds to what is truly a historic necessity for a revolutionary party like ours, the need for better understanding of present trends in all their contradictions, complexity, and novelty./

This is one of the important conclusions to come out of our last two congresses.

No more than there is a model in politics or socialism is there a theoretical model or a system made up of final laws sufficient for understanding everything.

Our adversaries would like to shut us up in the wrong alternative of dogma or empiricism. Reference to a theory or to scientific socialism would be fossilization or the gulag, and reference to actual trends would mean fumbling in the dark and flying by the seat of our pants.

What we actually intend to do as a revolutionary party is to supply our political gains with a fulcrum for a new theoretical advance.

It would be just as sterile to ask theory to catch up with political gains after the fact as it would be to claim to deduce policy from theory a priori.

These two processes cannot be separated or confused. The motions adopted by the 33rd Congress in this context support our way of considering the relationships between our theory and our policy.

This gives us /new responsibilities/ to a Marxism that we neither own nor censor, and strategy opens up /new possibilities/ for us.

III

We propose research open to all social and material, international and national realities.

We urge all who want to engage in it as Marxists with all their diverse approaches and motives to follow an original line of thought directly connected to the great issues raised by our strategy, which is itself original.

We urge them to shed taboos and neither fear nor shun the theoretical confrontations implicit in any scientific advance in the understanding of this world of contradictions and struggle.

We urge them to undertake stimulating work that will both preserve and enhance the individual responsibility of the scholars whose work cannot be given any official imprimatur or ban; the responsibility of the Institute's directors in proposing promising lines of research as well as discussions implicit in the diversity of viewpoints; the responsibility of the Party, which will develop in its own way all the better because it can rely on diversified, high-quality work sponsored by its Institute.

Discussions now under way confirm the stimulating, fertile nature of this approach, which has already begun to mobilize intellectual effort.

This approach is stimulating positive discussions on the implications of the decisions of the 33rd Congress and makes it possible to put these discussions in the perspective of everybody's actual contribution, without exception, to the new rise of Marxism.

To advance in the direction in which our ambitions lead us, we must create conditions that make it possible to bring maximum strength to our research effort.

That is the reason for the national meeting that will be held at the Bobigny house of culture on 1-2 December.

We wish to bring together several hundred people in discussion groups² dealing with the major themes we propose so that the general discussion of the Institute's purposes can be enriched by particular approaches to each of the themes discussed.

A word about the criteria for invitation.

Whom do we wish to reach besides those already associated with our various present research activities and those who will ask of their own accord to be invited because they want to participate in the work of the Institute?

Hundreds of specialists in all disciplines, professional scholars or not, working in universities, public or private research centers, teachers, engineers, and business managers; party members, too; in short, all whose contribution to the research we want to do is absolutely irreplaceable if we wish to extend the scope of our work to all areas of social life.

That is why we have asked for assistance from the federated leadership. We need them to get the most possible names and addresses for the invitation list for 1-2 December. That is the condition for a big turnout at the Bobigny meeting, and for effective consultation with all who are concerned with giving our activities a good start.

IV

Another word about our means of expression and our possible future initiatives. As a part of the Institute's program, LA PENSEE has a good opportunity to expand its circulation because of its increased importance. We will soon study with all due seriousness the possibility of broadening the spectrum of our research periodicals, which already include the CAHIERS D'HISTOIRE and ISSUES EN ECONOMIE.

Following the Bobigny meeting, we will constitute our research sections and an Institute board of directors appropriate to our endeavor. We will then plan the calendar of various kinds of colloquiums and scientific

projects on a national or international basis. They will deal with self-management, the new world order, human rationality, the women's liberation movement, issues of Eurocommunism, the Communist Party in French society, regional and national problems, etc.

In short, neither plans nor work is lacking.

FOOTNOTES

2. There are six of these discussion groups with the following themes:
 - French society: social classes and categories, political structures and social movements, cultural and ideological trends, local, regional, and national territories and authorities.
 - The historical movement and social formations: cultures and ideologies, production relations, government and political relationships, French national history, the revolutionary and workers' movement, the history of the French Communist Party.
 - International life: imperialism, crisis and adaptation; present-day socialism, its development, diversity and universality in form and action; the forces of national liberation and social transformation; international relations, the content and prospects of a new international order.
 - Science and technology: their present and future social implications.
 - The crisis of lifestyles and human relationships; individual liberation and social liberation.
 - The dynamics of scholarship, Marxisms and philosophy in their histories and in perspective.

8782

CSO: 3100

EDITORIAL COMMENTS ON NEW TURKISH GOVERNMENT

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greeex 23 Nov 79 p 7

[Text] From the first moment of its formation, the new Turkish government of Mr Demirel has not bothered to even keep up appearances. In statements referring to its program, it launched a direct attack against our country, raising one again the familiar Turkish claims and threatening "counteractions." These statements constitute a continuation of other remarks, made 15 days ago, by the then still mandatary Turkish premier.

This escalation of the Turkish provocations reveals in the most unequivocal way what the policy of Ankara is to be. Or rather, it demonstrates the fact that the expansionistic aims of Turkey in this area are not going to be restrained in any way. And from this point of view, the proclamation of its policy which it made in such a harsh way constitutes a blessing, because everyone will thereby be informed, even the "friends" and "allies" of Ankara, about what its true intentions are.

These provocative statements are also addressed indirectly to such allies. Because they remind them of how Turkey aims to use the aid which they grant to it. In other words, of how it sees its obligations and its role within the framework of the Atlantic Alliance.

But this provocative displaying of the expansionistic designs of Ankara--from an administration which in fact does not even have a majority in the parliament--also reveals some other aspects of domestic political life in Turkey. It shows that a chauvinistic policy constitutes perhaps the only common denominator of the agreement between Demirel and the parties on the extreme Right, the votes of which are necessary for the Justice Party to remain in power. Thus, notwithstanding the very many domestic social and economic problems which this country faces, the Turkish premier held the Greek-Turkish problems to be among the most important in his raising of such problems in the course of the statements he made on the administration's program.

For Greece, this provocative attitude on the part of Ankara was not unexpected. Mr Demirel has served as premier a number of times in recent years, and thus his positions on this issue are known. Nobody, not merely in our government but throughout the political world, had any illusions about what stand the new Turkish administration would take. For this reason also, the position of all our parties was almost unanimous in condemning the new Turkish provocations.

Indeed, the Greek government did not fail to stress that our country "is not giving up on the possibility of a peaceful dialog, and it is not going to follow in the footsteps of the provocations of Ankara," as was stated by Minister of Foreign Affairs G. Rallis, who also pointed out that Turkey is the country which has caused the problems in this area.

This firmly emphatic statement of the Greek government has a double objective: First, it warns Ankara that its provocative actions are not going to find any congenial soil in our country. But at the same time it reminds the others, and especially the great powers, what country it is which is disturbing peace and security in this area. Thus, indirectly it sets before them--above all the major Western "allies"--their responsibilities for the consequences which may be entailed by a continuation of this provocative policy on the part of Turkey.

These "allies," and especially the Americans, should quite coolly weigh the pros and cons of their policy on the eastern Mediterranean, before they come to a decision to support Ankara in its continuation of its provocative actions. The notion that Turkey is a key element in the policy not only of the West but also of the East perhaps does not have so many supporters today, with all the disorder in the Moslem world. Turkey does not cease being itself a Moslem country, despite any differences it may have with the Arabs.

It is being shown at last that regardless of which party finds itself in power in Ankara, the policy which they all follow is the same. The difference in the case of Ecevit is that he started out with many promises and ended up with chauvinistic provocations. Demirel, on the other hand, revealed his true face from the very first.

All these things confirm the finding which this column has made repeatedly, that in matters of foreign policy the chief lines of policy are charted by the real centers of power in Ankara, which are distinct from whoever is the current premier. Mr Demirel, since he wants to show to the army that he is well behaved, has taken care to conform to its policy lines from the very first moment.

But on the other hand this chauvinistic policy, the leaders in Ankara believe, is also of service in their exercising of policy on the domestic front. Through this fanaticizing of the people, they are seeking to divert their attention from their vital everyday problems. Especially

their economic and social problems. Inflation has reached 100 percent there, and violence not only is a daily phenomenon, but is developing into an open civil war, while in the eastern provinces the Kurds began to get stirred up some time ago. Of course, in the face of this situation, the one thing which would not be sought by a democratic government in any country whatsoever which wanted to protect its interests would be the creation of additional problems. Instead of this, Turkey is escalating its chauvinistic policy. It is continuing its provocative behavior, and perhaps it is playing with fire.

12114

CSO: 4908

'I KATHIMERINI' REPORTS Milder GOVERNMENT-PASOK DIALOG

AT211146 Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 21 Dec 79 p 3 AT

[Excerpt] The dialog between the government and the majority opposition party was continued yesterday with a milder tone after A. Papandreou's weekly chat with political editors. The government spokesman gave the following answers to Papandreou's statement:

--On elections: Papandreou reiterated his demand for speeding up the next election because there is a divergence between the people's will and the Chamber of Deputies and because the government's economic policy creates dangers for this country. He concluded by saying he will not become boring by asking for elections on every single day.

The government spokesman replied utilizing an older statement that this is a challenge made by Papandreou from a position of safety--no elections are likely now.

--On television: Papandreou promised that when he comes to authority he will open free dialog for all.

The government spokesman replied that Papandreou "ought to remember more and talk less."

--On U.S. radio stations: Papandreou asked the government to announce its decision on whether it will permit use of VOA stations located on Greek territory for broadcasts to Iran and the Islamic countries.

The government spokesman replied that the American requested the Greek Government for the allocation of a frequency for such broadcasts but that such an allocation was not granted due to the uncertain position of the relevant agreement.

--On missiles: Papandreou accused the prime minister of not briefing the Chamber of Deputies and repeated that installation of missiles undermines the multifaceted foreign policy of the government.

The government spokesman replied that no such missiles will be installed in our country nor are we going to contribute toward the cost of their manufacture.

--On peoples' participation in authority: Papandreou promised that when his party takes over the government it will permit the peoples' participation in authority through creation of development committees at the base on which citizens from every village and town quarter will sit.

He will also organize local self government at a second level and by broader regions. PASOK's chairman said he intends to explain to the people the economic policy he plans to follow in order to gain the peoples' support. During this winter, he added, PASOK will announce its government program with direct and long term goals which will be aimed at a division of burdens in accordance to the income level of the various population layers.

The government spokesman replied that the people are represented through their legal elected representatives in the Chamber of Deputies, unless, of course, Papandreou believes that he does not represent the people.

CSO: 4908

KKE CONDEMNS GREEK MILITARY EXPENDITURE

AT211129 Athens RIZOSPASTIS in Greek 21 Dec 79 p 2 AT

[From the "Radical" column: "Military Expenditure"]

[Text] Among all NATO member states Greece today holds the highest position for military expenditure and the lowest position in reference to allocations for education: As stressed by the KKE representative, Comrade Rarakos, in his Chamber of Deputies speech the other day, "Military expenditure is in no way an essential sacrifice to which we must submit for national reasons.

In the past the KKE repeatedly proved that the country's national independence cannot be truly guaranteed through the armaments race. It can only be achieved if the country is freed from the chains of American sovereignty and if an independent foreign policy of active neutrality is followed. Instead of this, however, the government follows a policy of greater attachment to the imperialists. The government basically has stayed within NATO. It consented to the installation of the new U.S. "Cruise" and "Pershing II" missiles in Europe thus reneging from its original declarations and it has even agreed to contribute toward expenses for their installation. We believe that this last fact is additional absolute proof of the goals which are in fact served by military expenditure and that this will convince the other forces of the opposition which in the past voted for military expenditure basing their action on the necessity for defending national independence." The government's representatives had nothing to say on these indisputable arguments of the KKE. The people, in any case, expect the other parties of the opposition to draw the necessary conclusions on their position toward military expenditure.

CSO: 4908

POLITICAL PARTY LEADER COMMENTS ON ECONOMY

Athens TO VIMA in Greek 24 Nov 79 p 2

[Text] The president of KODISO [Democratic Socialist Party], Mr L. Pasmazoglou, made the following statement:

"We consider it an obligation and responsibility to follow the course of the economy and promptly to spot any adverse developments that are happening. This spotting is necessary so that everyone will know what the real course of the economy is, because only this way do the people get a serious feeling in facing the serious problems that occur--in contrast to the government's irresponsibility and to what the authorized government officials occasionally claim.

The latest indications confirm our prediction at the beginning of the year that there would be a large increase in the shortage of the balance of payments and a new flare-up in inflation. Similarly, according to recent developments, a serious slackening in the development of the economy and an adverse change in income distribution will occur in 1979 and 1980:

1) The current trade shortage will fall between 2,200 and 2,500 million dollars. This means: a) In comparison to 1978, the shortage will be almost doubled; b) Contradiction of the government's prediction just two months ago that the shortage would be 1,750 million dollars and c) Contradiction of the government's claims that attributes the worsening situation to the increased fuel imports. The excessive increase in payments for imports is due to the increase in payments for petroleum by about only 30%.

There are indications of extensive overpricing and underpricing, in other words, of illegal exportation of foreign currency, while the council provided for by Law 936 of last June will has not been formed to organize the suppression of this serious irregularity. A characteristic example of government confusion and inconsistency is the proposal that managed to be published regarding the legalization of the deposits in foreign currency.

2) The increase of the cost of living between December 1978 and December 1979 will be 22 to 24% and the increase at the middle levels about 19%. These rates are more than double the average inflation rate of the EEC. Therefore, the flare-up of inflation in Greece is not due to the increase in prices abroad as the government insists on saying.

3) The national income will increase by 3.5% in 1979 and it is predicted that it will remain stationary in 1980, in contrast with government announcements and predictions.

4) It is estimated that agricultural production will fall by about 3% in 1979. The decrease in the real income of the farmers will be still greater, considering that the prices received by the producers have increased by 16 to 17% on the average, in other words, less than the increase in the cost of living.

5) The participation of the income of the blue and white collar workers in the urban income will decline by about 2 percentage points for the first time since 1974. This is due to the fact that the adjustment of salaries and wages was done according to the government's prediction and declaration of an increase in prices of about 10%, while the rate of inflation is more than twice as much.

The government has failed in fighting inflation and in restoring the economy. The continuing contradictions of government predictions and declarations has widened beyond repair the credibility gap between the citizens and the government. The establishment of a strong economic development is a prerequisite for facing the economic and social problem of the people, as well as for reinforcing the international position and national defense of the country. This makes up the political meaning of the problem. That is why it should be tackled with a policy other than the one the responsible segments of the party in power can and want to exercise."

9346

CSO: 4908

STATISTICS ON BALANCE OF TRADE REPORTED

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 23 Nov 79 p 13

[Text] A new aggravation in the balance of payments was noted in October. Already fears are being expressed that the final shortage will approach 2,500 dollars, resulting in the necessity to resort to a new foreign loan, almost immediately after securing a loan for 500 million dollars.

The new aggravation is the result of imports of merchandise that surpass the present needs of the Greek economy. Even though there are no definite facts at this moment, according to information from commercial banks, the payments for imports in October approached 800 million dollars, compared to 590 million dollars last year. In other words, they increased by at least 35%. For the entire ten-month period from January to October, the importers spent 8,120 million dollars in foreign currency, compared to 6,036.6 million dollars for the same period in 1978.

At the present rate of increase, it is estimated that for the entire year of 1979, imports will approach 10 billion dollars, compared to 7.6 billion for 1978, and that the shortage in the balance of payments will approach 2.5 billion dollars.

Without underestimating the dangers that are created by an increase in the shortage of the balance of payments, key government authorities insists that this is a passing flare-up that will pass in a few months. Specifically, these officials support that:

Undoubtedly, we are facing a sick phenomenon, specifically in excessive imports that are aggravated by the flare up of the inflationary prospects that have dominated all aspects of the private sector in the economy. This way, importers, business men and manufacturers, indiscriminately, are importing large quantities of machinery (and this is a positive thing), raw materials and consumer goods, getting ahead of the increase in prices that is created by rapid inflation.

These excessive imports, however, that more than cover our present needs, will be liquidated at some time. That means that in 1980, imports will be very low. In other words, we have a transient phenomenon that will not cause extensive damage if it is faced coolly and correctly.

The same authorities clarify that when they talk about facing the situation coolly, they mean that taking quick and hard measures should be avoided. To the contrary, the government should apply its anti-inflationary program with consequence. Because it is certain that the stabilization of the economy can dissolve this sick climate of inflationary prospects that is found at the starting line of excessive imports.

Indeed, key economists outside the government insists that the flood of imports can be arrested:

1) With the devaluation of the drachmae that may be done not directly, but by means of the mechanism of free floating of the drachma. We must establish this, considering our accession to the EEC (adoption of the free foreign currency market). The determination of the value of the drachma on the basis of supply and demand would bring it to the levels it has been put in by the "free market," in other words, at 41 drachmae a dollar.

The same economists support that this devaluation would radically cure the balance of payments because it would make imported goods more expensive, while our products would be cheaper abroad. This way imports will decrease and exports will increase. This will result in drastically decreasing the shortage.

However, in the present stage when the Greek economy is besieged by high inflation (for example, for the present month, the prediction is that the consumer price index will increase by 1.5%, compared to 1.1% last year and in comparison with November 1978, inflation is running at the rate of 22.2%), an extensive devaluation seriously would aggravate things and would not allow the government to apply the proper public legislature and income policy to fight inflation next year. This way, the government definitely rejects such a solution.

Besides, the devaluation of the drachma in fact (it has reached 4.5% up to now this year) is occurring daily with the basket system that is now being applied to determine its value abroad.

Quantity Restrictions

2) With taking measures for quantity restrictions in imports. In respect to this, it is stated that the agreement for the accession of Greece to the EEC provides for the possibility (article 60) of taking temporary measures to restrict imports, as long as there is the threat of disrupting the balance of payments.

This solution also is categorically rejected, however, by the key government authorities who support the view that something like this would lead to black market activities for certain items and in general, to an increase in inflation.

So, for the present time and beyond the strict enforcement of the anti-inflationary measures that have been taken (financing of the private sector by banks is running at the rate of 18%, compared to 23% last year), it is not predicted that new measures will be taken for the balance of payments, except for certain administrative ones (demurrage charges for those who leave the merchandise in the warehouses of the OLP [Piraeus Port Authority]).

The same government officials do not preclude, however, that corrective measures will be taken later, if imports continue to increase.

9346

CSO: 4908

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS ACCUSED OF POLITICIZATION

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 24 Nov 79 p 4

[Text] Student complaints about whatever concerns the situation of the universities is nothing new today. In other words, complaints about their perfection, about filling their shortages in personnel or in teaching aids, etc., about things related to the best operation of the institutions of higher learning. What is new and wierd, as well as dangerous, is that our students--and I am writing this with deep regret--are attacking the institution of the university, the idea itself.

As the passing of time has proven, they are not interested in the improvement of the quality of studies, but in the politicization of the universities. The attack is not directed against the imperfections and deficiencies of the institutions of higher learning but against the entire educational system. Many of the students cannot understand or do not wish to understand that a university can exist outside of politics. And even those who do not follow radical principles are struggling to upset the authentic hierarchical university structure.

No matter how some seemingly valid requests or correct, real and specific ones are made in an orthodox manner, with the passing of time and the continuous rebellions, these have been either set aside or have been completely abolished and their place has been taken by problems, demands and requests of a purely political nature and of political content that oppose the institution of the universities, university research, education and learning. The politicization--they call it democratization in quite a hypocritical manner--they desire means the end of free research, because there is no reason or truth or any education of substances without freedom. They convert the universities from centers and bases of freedom to bases and centers of party politics. They ask to participate in the election of professors, but in what respect? In the administration, and correctly, but not to determine the subject of the examinations, something that unfortunately is happening. The attack squad goes to pressure the professor to accept for example the examination of his students in his course only from the first 24 pages of his book. And, of course, unfortunately, it becomes accepted.

They reject the intensification of study and the selection of the capable students. They are worshippers of the "minimum effort." They do not accept and reject how democracy demands quality, because without it, in other words the establishment of a hierarchy through merit, democracy cannot exist. They do not want to understand this. Besides, they identify their pursuits with party slogans and subject, as it was stated correctly, judgment and prudence to the directives of some party leadership and to the special needs of its election tactics. And all this with the objective of getting the paper, the degree, faster and with less effort. And unfortunately, they get it, without exerting any effort and leave with the paper in hand, the paper that most times--unfortunately, I write this with great pain--is not worth more than the printing and the paper. Degrees without a trace of any face value.

Nevertheless, without a doubt, there were many requests that were very correct and worthy of attention. These are not made because they do not care about the improvement of their studies, but making them worse. They could request teaching systems that would help in elevating the studies, as well as the provision of some control over some matters regarding absolute authority of the professors over the students, mainly in assistants or in candidates for an academic career, and over the abuse of discriminating power on these matters and other similar items that refer to the field of conscience, ethos and high mission of the professors, because perhaps we have become weak spiritually and have lost the ideal that we should be serving. Their intense criticism would have been justified and worthy of attention against a few professors who lack pedagogic and teaching ability or do not advance in their field of teaching to keep up to date or do not know how to conduct examinations, lacking knowledge of the psychology of examinations, of questions and more generally, the way of putting matters and other quite serious sins of ours.

And yet, these logical, necessary and constructive requests have been set aside and the slogan requests that have surfaced and reached the front lines are: down with the professors, abolishment of law 815/78 that tries to restrict ignorance. Down with the intensification of studies, abolishment of examinations and prep schools, abolishment of every control etc.

Abuse in the Democracy

In an irrational way, the students underestimate the positive conquests of modern society. For example, where would they find an absolute freedom of opinion that they enjoy, reaching the point of abuse in our democracy? This underestimation leads them to the danger of not distinguishing--and unfortunately they do not distinguish--the meaning of freedom and insubordination, democracy and anarchy. They still commit abuse in an ungrateful way, of everything the State does for them, so they may study with aids and facilities--free education, scholarships, trips, free or with considerable discounts for means of transportation etc.--to the detriment of all the taxpayers.

Furthermore, they should know that they are using antidemocratic means and methods in their complaints. And while they apply pressure, they cry that they are being pressured. The so-called university asylum is the dominion of the attack squad and "those who belong to it," under a dictatorial pressure that goes as far as drowning or killing the freedom of the professors and students.

In a well organized manner, they have unleashed that which impresses and scares the young person who always wants to be thought of as being in the front lines of progress! As if to say that he who is against and does not agree is a reactionary and a fascist.

The student rebellions and insubordinations and their irresponsible actions and acts betray the lack of responsibility that is observed in our consumer society, a society of avidity. Responsibility in its substance and in its deeper meaning that means moral decision and readiness of a man for what he wants and for what he does and how he acts. The feeling of responsibility with this meaning appears to have undergone a severe deterioration. Today, the people of the industrialized democracies appear to set aside the legal forms that demand discipline and conformance by individuals to certain rules of co-existing life. This way we require more democracy, with the danger of going beyond the normal limits. It appears that the student demands and illegalities bear witness that in our democratic society, a spirit of imperiousness exists and is always spreading to many others. This imperiousness unfortunately is tangible and can easily lead to anarchy, in other words, to the death of democracy.

The imperiousness, demonstrations and requests of the students seem to have undergone, like the rest of us of course, the influence of technical civilization and an industrial mentality on our character to the point that it slackens or seriously hampers the growth of a man's character as the democratic way of life requires. Of course, the more expressed these positive qualities of a man are, the higher the level of democracy. The wider and much more developed the positive qualities of persons, the wider the base of the democracy. Only then can a democracy exist when the corresponding qualities of character are held. It is extinguished when external reasons and influence or facts begin to erode the spiritual life of people, by causing adverse tendencies to gain ground as well as faults, passions, the negative signs of character, lies, duplicity, dishonor, indolence, hypocrisy, violence and other poisons from which, unfortunately, we are not exempt, whether we are mature or immature, on a large scale.

The attack against order and the undermining of the institutions always lead to totalitarian situations and not to "a higher freedom." They lead to "sedition" in the Aristotelian sense that means incessant civil war.

These "seditions" are always the death of democracy. They show the decline of authority that is not violence, but a recognized social operation of law and order, in other words, an authority of value. When recognition stops

regarding the values of morality, humanism etc., that comprise the structure of democracy, of civilization, then the distinction between violence and authority stops. Then freedom is also lost and violence takes its place. Moral barriers are lost and what dominates is wishes, instincts, the inhuman, the merciless.

So the question is posed: could it be that the student rebellion, insubordination etc. is the result of a more general dissolution and contempt of values in our society?

Unfortunately, in a deeper analysis, the trouble seems to be there, as it is more intensely expressed by student rebellions and insubordination.

9346

CSO: 4908

SOCIAL-POLITICAL RADIO BROADCASTS PROGRAMMED

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 22 Nov 79 p 6

[Article by G. Notaras]

[Text] Broadcasts strongly geared to political-social problems are being prepared by the ERT [Greek Radio and Television] for the immediate future. The relevant announcement was made by the deputy general director of the ERT, G. Stefanakis, but he did not relate any more details--because, as he said, the whole plan is still in its initial stages.

In speaking about other new programs, he referred to "Starlight"--the upcoming Greek serial which the ERT will telecast and which is a television adaptation of the novel of the same name by I. M. Panagiotopoulos.

The adaptation of this work has been done by Vang. Katsanis, and the staging is due to Diog. Khronopoulos.

Another program which is being prepared is a "family" series of independent stories which will be written, alternately, by six different writers. Among these are D. Kekhaidis, K. Mourselas, and G. Skourtis. Furthermore, at the preparation stage is another series which will consist of television adaptations of Greek tales.

Next, the discussion centered around the issue of Greek motion picture films. Mr Stefanakis said that 13 films by Klearkhos Konitsiotis have been purchased, for 190,000 drachmas apiece (and for only one telecasting each). He stressed that the Greek commercial films are indispensable, because they bring "much advertising," around 1 million drachmas apiece. And this advertising, he continued, is even more essential because the ERT is facing serious financial problems at this time.

The appropriate ministries to which it appealed for aid told it that they were unable to give it any help, and they proposed to it the solution of advertising.

In any case, the management of the ERT announced once again that no progress has been noted in the old plan for the purchase of films from the new Greek cinema, and especially of those films which have been shown at various times at the Salonica Festival. It announced only that it has purchased "Image" [Anaparastasis] by Th. Angelopoulos, for 150,000 drachmas.

Subtitling of Films

According to reports, executive and managerial personnel of the ERT have recently been attempting a reversion to a past policy which had subsequently been considered detrimental to the functioning of certain departments of the ERT.

This issue concerns the operation of the department of subtitling of foreign films. Specifically, efforts are being made to have the work of subtitling commissioned to a private firm which had previously carried out this work of subtitling foreign films of the ERT, up to 1977. That year, the decision was made to assign this work to a department of the ERT, which was formed specifically for this purpose. The management of the ERT had been led to this decision subsequent to the discovery of a major source of trouble which had been observed in this sector.

In a report which had been submitted to the deputy minister to the premier, Ath. Tsaldaris, by the former head of the subdirectorate of programming, T. Papadopoulos, shortly before he resigned, he had pointed out:

"I have found a terrible irregularity in the subtitling of the foreign program. The electronic machinery which the ERT had at its disposal for this purpose was not being used. The commissioning of this work was being done by means of a strange type of competitive bidding, in which only one bidder participated. The photochemical subtitling which this bidder's company was using was such that it damaged the films after they were scored--something which cost the ERT an additional 10 million drachmas annually in foreign exchange. Another 10 million drachmas was being received also by the contractor of this work. Thus, I recommended the creation of a department of subtitling (something which was done immediately), which was staffed by personnel of the ERT, and at this moment it is operating at no extra cost, since the work is being done by employees of the station."

Problems

It is a fact that the subtitling department has been facing considerable problems in recent times, which are due to the burden of work which it has shouldered. Practically speaking, 70 percent of the programs which are transmitted get such a treatment, since this is the percentage of foreign broadcasts (documentaries, films, series, musical programs, and so forth) which are scheduled at this time in the program of the ERT.

What is needed above all is to increase the number of translators employed. Instead of this, the ERT is reverting to the commissioning of this work to a private firm. It has already decided to entrust to this firm the subtitling of the new major serial "Roots."

This development has aroused the opposition of the ERT employees. In a recent announcement, the Association of Technical Personnel stresses: "We denounce the contrived reduction of the contribution of our labor in the sector of film subtitling which is being attempted by way of the commissioning of this work to an outside associate, an old friend of other days...."

Official Statement of the ERT

In answer to a relevant question by us, the deputy general director of the ERT, G. Stefanakis, said that "no commissioning of subtitling to a private firm is going to take place."

Nevertheless, a top-ranking administrative official of the station informed us that this private firm will take on whatever the ERT subtitling department does not have time to do, beginning with "Roots"!

12114

CSO: 4908

DIESEL FUEL SMUGGLING REPORTED

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 24 Nov 79 p 1

[Text] The Minister of Industry, Mr M. Evert, confirmed the information published some time ago that diesel fuel is being smuggled from Greece to Turkey and other countries and revealed that the same thing is being done with gasoline. The reason why this smuggling is being done is the big difference in the price of mazut and gasoline between Greece and other countries. Mr M. Evert said that "we should bring the price of mazut and gasoline close to the prices in effect abroad, but this effort should be made in stages," because a sudden large increase in the price would affect adversely the cost of living.

The minister made these statements in Parliament yesterday, answering a question on the subject by the minister of PASOK [Panhellenic Socialist Movement], Mr P. Kritikos. Specifically, Mr M. Evert said:

- 1) Diesel fuel is being exported because its price in Greece is 50% less and, in some cases, 70% less than its price in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Italy and Turkey.
- 2) Because of this difference, a form of smuggling has started--and is expected to continue in certain cases--that is not done only with cars, but also with ships. The tankers would buy diesel fuel and mazut from the domestic market and would sell it abroad, making a profit on the difference.
- 3) Already, this has started to happen with gasoline too. Gasoline in Bulgaria today costs 40 drachmae per liter. And so, the smuggling of gasoline also has started.

The minister also underlined that an effort is being made at customs to identify the trucks that have double tanks and get large quantities when refueling. As many measures are being taken as possible, he said, to curb the smuggling of diesel fuel abroad by trucks that do not go only to Turkey. Most of the smuggling is done by trucks headed for Yugoslavia on their way to Europe with diesel fuel that has been bought from the Greek public. The orders that have been given to customs are most strict to stop the smuggling of diesel fuel. The trucks are not permitted to have more than one gas tank. With these measures, concluded the minister, it is believed that the observed tendency to smuggle diesel fuel will decrease.

CONSTRUCTION OF MULTISTORY HANDICRAFTSMEN CENTER PLANNED

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 22 Nov 79 p 9

[Text] A large new multistory center for handicraftsmen will be built in Kaisariani for the housing together of dozens of cottage-industry outfits, with favorable leasing terms and collective or group-use technological facilities. This new handicrafts center, which will be established in cooperation with the ETVA [Hellenic Industrial Development Bank]--by which it will also be financed with the sum of 200 million drachmas, as against the total investment sum of 300 million drachmas--will be finished in 2 years.

At the same time, the ETVA is pressing on with its study on the construction of the multistory center for handicraftsmen in Kolokyntou, which will be built on a lot 65,000 square meters in area, will house 120 handicrafts outfits, and will cost 1 billion drachmas. The Kolokyntou center will be ready in 3 years.

According to the program of the Ministry of Industry and the ETVA, these multistoried handicrafts buildings are designed to solve the problem of the land-use allocation for handicrafts in the urban centers, where on the one hand available space is non-existent and on the other hand such handicrafts occasion disturbances of the environment.

In calculating that within the next 5 years it would not be able to meet by itself the extensive needs of the handicraftsmen by the establishment of multistoried buildings, the ETVA has recommended relevant legislation for the encouragement of other agencies as well (chambers of trades and of arts and crafts, the EOMMEX, [Organization of Private Means of Transportation] and so forth) as well as of private enterprise. Thus, by a decision of the Currency Committee, the opportunity is being offered to private agencies to receive a financing of 70 percent of their investment, with a 15-year loan and with an interest rate of 16 percent, for the construction of multistoried handicrafts buildings.

Lowering Costs

Interest has been shown by the handicrafts organizations and the cottage-industry community generally in these multistoried handicrafts centers, because suitable housing is thereby made available at favorable leasing terms--reduction of housing costs by 40-50 percent, providing of technical and financial opportunities and opportunities for making use of technical facilities, and furnishing of areas for displaying as a group the products of the businesses which are housed together.

In its relevant program, the ETVA is dealing with the necessity to create 1 million square meters of housing for handicrafts in the 5-year period 1978-1982, whereas the requirement for the totality of the 123,000 handicrafts outfits comes to an area of 40 million square meters. For this reason, the ETVA is promoting at the same time the idea of financing private agencies for the construction of multistoried handicrafts buildings.

Standardized

In addition, for the solution of the housing problem of the handicraftsmen, the ETVA is also engaged in more specific programs for constructing standardized handicrafts buildings in industrial areas of the country, which will provide 1 million square meters of handicrafts housing.

In the industrial area of Salonica, the contract has already been given for the construction of 100 additional standardized handicrafts buildings, at a total investment of 350 million drachmas, while in the industrial area of Irakleion the construction of 50 handicrafts buildings is beginning, at a cost of 250 million drachmas. In addition to the ETVA, the European Investment Bank will also be financing a part of the construction of these buildings, with 30 percent of the construction financed.

Also, the ETVA is carrying out a parallel program of self-construction, by making available to the handicraftsmen small building lots 1-3 stremmas in area within the industrial districts, and at the same time covering 70 percent of the construction costs, under favorable terms.

12114

CSO: 4908

INDUSTRIALIST COMMENTS ON FURNITURE PRODUCTION

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 23 Nov 79 p 9

[Text] The special importance of the views expressed by Mr Th. Varangis during his interview with KATHIMERINI is due to his double capacity as architect decorator-designer and as an industrialist in the production of furniture. His reputation in both capacities has been well established both internally and internationally.

[Question] What in your opinion is the future in Greek furniture?

[Answer] Furniture sales in Greece are increasing in leaps and bounds. Indicative of this trend is the fact that in 1960, 1.9% of the total sales of consumer goods in Greece were spent on furniture, while 3.2% were spent on furniture in 1976.

The increase in furniture sales is due to the increase in income and to the use of private savings for buying durable goods. A new increase in furniture sales is expected in the future.

The prerequisites for growth in the furniture business are provided for this way. Up to now, the furniture business was more of a craftsman's trade and numbered about 10,000 businesses employing about 30,000 persons with a mechanized capacity of 90,000 horsepower. In other words, the craftsman dominates the furniture producing business. The personality of the businessman is predominant in the business, as is manual labor that is supported by small machines and tools.

Most of the businesses are located in the metropolitan area and in the Nome of Thessaloniki.

Under the new circumstances that will be created in our country by the accession to the EEC, a distinction should be made between the craftsman's business and the furniture business. Both the craftsmen and the industry should become modernized in their mentality and in specialized production.

Let us begin with the craftsman's business. When we talk about a craftsman's business, we mean a furniture factory with less than 20 workers, with a production that may or may not be specialized. These businesses could produce specific pieces of furniture and sell their products to the industries. This way the craftsmen and the industry would trim their production costs and achieve a better quality. Among these craftsman businesses, certain ones can exist and survive that produce furniture of an art quality in limited quantities for every specific customer, as is done at the present time in France, Italy, etc. This form of craftsman production can hold up in the Common Market, considering that the Greek artisans have distinguished themselves in the technical and esthetic aspects of furniture production.

And now for the industry. Unfortunately, here we will return to the unpleasant. The development of the furniture industry in Greece has faced and is facing tremendous problems. A significant industry of the European level has not been created up to now. The basic reason is that the internal market is small and the business men did not risk the large investments that would be needed for an uncertain development. Furthermore, there are no raw materials in our country. As a result, these are imported, thereby adding to costs. Even our distance from Europe would add to the cost of the exported furniture, a cost that the European producers would avoid. Another very important problem for the development of the furniture industry is the high wages being paid in the business. As an example, the average wage paid in Italy and England is 2/3 of the Greek real wage. I am referring to the daily wage in the Attica district where, as I mentioned before, the greatest number of productive units are located.

At this point, one could claim that the establishment of the furniture industry in the province and especially in the subsidized areas would limit the cost of labor. This is not possible at the present time, however, because there is a total shortage of specialized labor. It is not an exaggeration to say that the creation of an industrial unit for furniture requires mechanical equipment costing one billion drachmae. Such units exist in Europe with a production capacity, for example, of 4,000 chairs every eight hours. These industries have been integrated in the international markets with interconnections and business associations.

We must keep in mind that productivity means specialization in production, standardization of the produced goods and modern machine equipment. A reduction in cost is effected this way. Industrialization also means advanced technology, a high esthetic level and living up to the esthetic traditions and teachings as well as the encouragement of the new generations to create something beautiful.

All of these observations indicate that the creation of large industrial units for producing furniture that can compete with the European units is problematic at the present time.

Regarding foreign trade in the business (both in importing furniture as well as in exporting it), it is found to be at a very low level.

Indicative of this is that in 1977, furniture imports represented .08% of our total imports, while furniture exports represented .15% of the total exports of our country.

Our principal suppliers of furniture are West Germany, Italy, France, Japan and the U.S.A. (for medical and surgical furniture) and in smaller quantities England, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, Belgium, Sweden and others.

Our customers, almost exclusively, for exported furniture are certain countries of North Africa and the Middle East, mainly Libya, that absorbs mostly metallic furniture, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Syria and others.

From what has been mentioned, it is easily surmised that Greek furniture is not competitive either in quality or in price. Greece occupies the last position in Europe in furniture exports. Foreign trade has been a liability for many years. Up to 1974, furniture imports were greater than exports. Only in 1975 did imports and exports become equal.

An important possibility for improving the conditions of the Greek furniture business is the training of officers and public professional education that should be supported and organized throughout Greece. Systematic research and training is what is missing in the business.

Public professional education is not progressing at the present time. There are no advanced educational institutions for a total of 29,445 persons who are occupied in the furniture business. Our lower or middle schools in Greece had 265 students in 1977 and 1978. We must emphasize that, as in the other professions, no effort has been made to educate young people professionally in the art of making furniture. It is necessary to explain through the publicity media that the remuneration of an artisan is more than twice that of the average employee. We must also convince the young people, that societies, even the Greek one, with some delay of course, have stopped considering the artisan as a lesser social individual. If the things we have mentioned entirely in general lines happen, the existing schools will be filled with students and the government will create advanced technical schools.

In ending, we can come to the following conclusions:

The Greek furniture industry has a potential for growth, but it is absolutely necessary for it to become modernized in machine installations and in training its officers. We note that generally, the mentality of those who are occupied in the business must change and everyone should be convinced that the businesses must cooperate and specialize.

The shape of Greek furniture, together with its operation and production, must especially concern the business that should cooperate with the artistic and morphological leadership of the country.

9346

CSO: 4908

INDUSTRIALIST COMMENTS ON METAL FURNITURE PRODUCTION

Athens 1 KATHIMERINI in Greek 23 Nov 79 p 12

[Text] We sought the views of Mr K. Tsaousoglou, general director of the manufacturing business, Tsaousoglou Inc., because as a technologist and industrialist, mainly of metal furniture, he has the theoretical and practical understanding of the weaknesses, potentials and problems involved in a modernized unit in our country.

[Question] What is the level of Greek technology in metal furniture?

[Answer] It is a fact that the level of Greek technology is considerably behind the corresponding EEC technology in metal furniture. There are many various and different reasons for this. The most important ones are:

a) The inability of the Greek metal furniture industry to standardize their production because of existing circumstances. The reason for this is that their main customer, the Greek public and the NPDD [Legal Entity of Public Law], (using 65% of the metal furniture production), have not adjusted to a standardization that is based on the present set of facts regarding the use of materials, plans, methods, operations etc. In other words, they do not have technical outlines of the products that they purchase or, even if they do have them, they are probably for the period 1960 to 1970.

And the question is posed: If a Greek manufacturing company makes large investments that, in addition to quality, will ensure large production, where would it market it?

It should especially be emphasized and well understood that it is impossible for the Greek metal furniture industry to confront its innate difficulties that will even increase with the threatening competition during our full accession to the EEC (that includes the abolishment of duties), unless it is based on mass production with a respective programming of acquiring technical equipment. What I have said does not of course refute our claim that the manufactured furniture in our country has a future. Perhaps the question remains on how much Greek manufactured furniture can count on the

250 million EEC market. And furthermore, what it can hope for in an unstable market, in many ways, of the countries of the Middle East and the Arab countries. In the internal market, however, the Greek industry can be dominant under the above prerequisites, securing quality and competitive prices.

b) The excessively large and uncontrolled number of small metal furniture makers who do not have the capability to standardize, make furniture "by order" as requested, many times without abiding by the existing laws on various aspects of their business (labor, taxes, insurance, etc.).

As a result, these mostly opportunistic units are slowing down the organization and modernization of the organized industries.

Because for an industry to become modernized in machine installations, methods, production, materials used, adjustment of the mentality of the personnel to new production methods etc., it must have secured a respective market for its production.

[Question] What improvements can be put into effect immediately in the business?

[Answer] It is an indisputable fact that the industries of West Germany are way ahead of the corresponding Greek ones in the metal furniture business.

Another fact is that no matter how hard we try to catch up to them, we will never get there. And so, the distance that separates us will be there continuously, not to say it will get smaller.

Consequently, the only thing left for us to do is to buy their technology that we can adapt to the Greek realities and offer it both to the Greek market and abroad.

This is the only way we will have the elements of competitiveness that are none other than good and consistent quality, impeccable esthetic beauty, quick time of delivery and low cost, elements based on standardized and in line production.

These will require that the government standardize the products it buys for the public services and the NPDD and that it will supervise the strict application of these standards, both for its own benefit and for the industries that will make large investments for their modernization.

9346

CSO: 4908

INSURANCE ESTABLISHMENTS CRITICIZED BY PHYSICIAN

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 24 Nov 79 p 4

[Text] Again the dispersion, not the general one of the Irish, Jews or Greeks, not the one that was brought about by poverty, need, local wars, Turkish occupation, but the medical dispersion of Greek patients that has reached the limits of medical apostates. Mostly when it is done voluntarily, not upon the exhortation of the specialist, but when it is the result of the gang, the medical discussion, the self-appointed specialists, the eternal "experts" of Greek life.

They are not the ones who go for heart valves or cornea transplants, but those who travel for headaches and for conjunctivitis, for unjustified reasons, with various "tours" that sprout up in Athens and plan shopping trips abroad and the visit to the specialist.

They combine what cannot be combined as if it were the most natural thing in the world.

And all this with 22,000 Greek doctors, 5,000 more than we need, in a medical dynamic that puts us in first place, at least numerically, among the other countries of the common market. That way, we are in an unprecedented position to export doctors and patients at the same time, some of the same doctors that the same patients perhaps will meet, since they are traveling for a thousand or so miles, because up here, in their own area, they are not compatible, they do not agree, they do not understand each other.

Perhaps because the numerically first society of Europe is the least protected by the state, the most misunderstood by the patients, used in the worst way by the institutions.

Now here, with 86 insurance funds, with complaining migratory patients, we are again coming to a dilemma. This time it is a dilemma of adoption.

Which one of the foreign systems is the most suitable for us? Which one is the least expensive? The most productive? Which one is compatible to the mentality of the Greek? Or rather, with which one would we be the least dissatisfied with?

The average stay in West European hospitals is 9 to 10 days, while in Greece it is about 17, something disadvantageous for everyone and mostly for the state.

Well, what will it be? The French one? The British one? The German one? Which one will suit us best? Will it cut down on the days of stay in the hospital and will it make intelligent use of the supernumerary Greek doctors?

For the present time, the foreign specialists are coming and coming again. Everyone talks about the deficiencies of the foreign systems, that they are expensive, that the people over there are also dissatisfied, that they wait months to have an operation, etc.

Here, we remain where we have been for many years. With the problem being a piercing insoluble one, with the relationship between doctor and patient being a failure, and with the consumption of drugs being 50% more than what we need.

Everyone talks about the environment, the marvelous quality of life that is not only pure air and green, but human relations that are correct and balanced in all branches and at all levels.

Within this renowned quality of life, there is also the medical quality. Without this medical quality, even Switzerland and Sweden would not be what they are, even if they have a per capita income that surpasses the American one.

We lack a medical scenario and without that we do not achieve quality or check emigration.

Let the state adopt one of the many foreign scenarios that the medical world will embrace and that the patients will respect. Something that has been tried for 20 to 30 years and will have its roots somewhere in Europe.

9346

CSO: 4908

INTEREST IN NAVY, AIR FORCE BUILDUP REPORTED

Athens O OIKONOMIKOS TAKHYDROMOS in Greek 15 Nov 79 p 36

[Text] According to a piece of correspondence by (David Tong) in the FINANCIAL TIMES, which was strangely ignored by the Greek press, the Greek government has suspended its plan for the purchasing and manufacturing of combat tanks.

The need for austerity and the importance which is being placed on the Greek navy and air force have deferred for a later time both the plan on purchases of tanks from France or Britain and on the building of a domestic industrial outfit for making tanks, on which the OIKONOMIKOS TAKHYDROMOS had reported earlier. Our Greek tanks--350 M-47's and 800 M-48's--are 25 years old. In 1974, the dictatorial regime had ordered 100 French medium tanks, the AMX-30's. Since the fall of the junta the various Greek administrations, which were fearing incidents with Turkey, have also ordered other French tanks, while at the same time they have been planning the purchase of a modern type of tank.

At first it seemed that the British company of Vickers would win the contract, which would have amounted to 500 million pounds sterling (Editor's note: This also had been noted by the OIKONOMIKOS TAKHYDROMOS). However, subsequently the very powerful pro-French lobby was to show that it would have the last word on this. Nevertheless, in the spring of 1978, revaluations of the Vickers offers brought the British company once again to a favorable position. The agreement with Vickers would include the sale of 30 tanks and the granting of aid to the Greeks for building a domestic tank-manufacturing outfit, which would probably be constructed in the industrial zone of Volos. However, the intensification of the oil crisis and the need to curtail public expenditures forced the economic ministers to postpone this plan.

Furthermore, not only political but also military reasons played a part in the above postponement. To begin with, this deferment is a help to the French, who will have the new AMX-32's ready for delivery in 1981. But more significant is the fact that the Greeks are throwing the weight of their efforts into the arming of their navy and air force.

The Greek armed forces believe that the danger of a clash with Turkey is more imminent than any confrontation with the Warsaw Pact. Thus, they are preparing for possible developments more in the Aegean than in Makedonia. Having already purchased a number of fast-sailing boats, the Greeks are interested in acquiring frigates to replace the 35-year-old destroyers which the American Navy had supplied to them. For this reason, the Greek deputy minister of national defense, who recently visited the Royal Naval Exhibition in Portsmouth, had discussions there in connection with T-24 frigates.

Furthermore, in the coming 4 years there are plans on purchasing ground-to-air missiles and especially the British Rapier system. Communications systems are not very high up on Greece's list of priorities.

It should be noted that on both sides of the Aegean, purchases of weapons are burdening enormously the budgets of the two countries. In this context, Turkey is striving to wheedle from the United States military aid of \$1.5 billion in order to enable it to modernize its army in the coming 5 years. Thus, it is continuing the same tactics as those it employed with respect to the 26 American bases on Turkish soil. Also, three American battleships which had been purchased by Turkey between 1944 and 1946 are possibly going to be replaced, since the American Congress--which was blocking the agreement on this--has withdrawn its objections.

12114

CSO: 4908

BRIEFS

LEAD-ZINC PRODUCTION PLANT--Foreign exchange benefits of approximately \$90 million a year will result from establishment of a Greek plant for the production of lead and zinc according to the minister of industry and energy, Miltiadis Evert. These benefits will result from export of these products and substitution of their import by local production. Evert stressed that establishment of the plant falls within the government's policy to fully exploit local mineral resources as laid down at a conference under Prime Minister Karamanlis. Preliminary plans and studies on the feasibility of the plant are complete and instructions were issued to the Hellenic Industrial Development Bank to set up the organization to administer the industry and establish the plant. Total investment for the new industrial unit is estimated at \$125 million. The new complex will rely entirely on Greek mineral resources and deposits and will annually produce 60,000 tons of zinc; 35,000 tons of lead; 150,000 tons of sulphuric acid and small quantities of other metals. [Text] [AT211351 Athens Domestic Service in Greek 1230 GMT 21 Dec 79 AT]

CSO: 4908

PARTY CONGRESS REVEALS D'66 POLITICAL WEAKNESS

Amsterdam ELSEVIERS MAGAZINE in Dutch 3 Nov 79 pp 14-17

[Commentary by Frank Lafort: "D'66: The Unmasking of an Ideology"]

[Text] D'66 is still suffering from ideological anemia. That became clear once again at Utrecht during the party congress of the Democrats. In the long run they are unable to give the Dutch electorate a feeling of satisfaction. Fraction chairman Terlouw is still soothing the party members with "common interest" versus "narrow group interests." Utrecht has once again made it clear: Terlouw is king in D'66, but a successor to the throne is lacking.

With the "fourth pillar" on the Dutch political scene, D'66 (the Democrats '66), blood is still thicker than water. At the party congress in Utrecht it was clear that the old love for the socialists predominates among the growing "family" of pragmatists of Dr Jan Terlouw. The fraction chairman took advantage of the occasion in Utrecht to give his listeners--most of them in the "thirties"--an ideological pep talk. Terlouw said: "D'66 is still moving in a progressive direction." It happens that the concept "progressive" has repeatedly been mouthed by veteran politicians, without these ideologically indigent "progressives" being willing or able to fill in the term, overly cautious as they are. And so the "progressive" to which PvdA [Labor Party] Chairman Max van den Berg refers is the action party, something quite different from the "progressiveness" of the club of Jan Terlouw: "I would like to define progressiveness in this way: you are progressive politically if you strive for a change in the structure of society whereby the degree of selfishness (read: group egoism) will be reduced."

A noble idea, but one which is not reserved for the Democrats alone. Other political parties likewise try via the Gospel (Professor Goudzwaard, Steenkamp), liberalism (Toxopeus, Goertsema), and socialism (B. Tromp and his kind) to give concrete content to a reduction of group egoism. The only difference is the name given the phenomenon. The "evangelical

solidarity" is undoubtedly no less [meaningful] than the "tempering of selfishness" applauded by the Democrats or the "international solidarity" highly praised by the socialists. As far as the tempering of selfishness is concerned, D'66 is not essentially different from the other political pillars. The question is: wherein then does it differ? The answer is not easy, although Terlouw tried not to disappoint his followers at Utrecht. "Progressivism is something different from promotion of interests, even promotion of the interests of a weak group."

A thesis which Terlouw tries to develop further but which remains shrouded in a foggy stream of words in spite of all of his efforts. What are we to think of this: "The struggle for higher wages may be quite justified; it may also be short-sighted. The struggle for the maintenance of a certain form of education may be correct; it may also be inspired by a promotion of narrow interests. Supporting a weak industry or an entire branch of industry with government funds may be necessary, for example for the sake of jobs in an area which is suffering from unemployment; such an understandable desire, however, may also be based on seeming progressiveness." The "enlightened" volubility of the D'66 spokesman slips through the fingers like oil and streams in all directions. One can just as readily confront the Democrats with their own seeming progressiveness, depending on the way in which this concept is interpreted. The structural ideological vagueness of the Democrats, clearly shown once again at Utrecht, accentuates the Dutch Kennedy, Terlouw, when he usurps the term "common interest." He tells his audience in Utrecht: "You are voting for a party which is there, not to serve your own interests, but to contribute to a society whose structure changes in the direction of common interest."

Terlouw is here playing the lustrous role of the good shepherd who lets his white D'66 sheep graze on the virgin national green pastures, where "black" sheep, such as the other political parties, who of course largely promote group interests according to the D'66 philosophy, are not or barely tolerated. "Whoever votes for D'66," so said Terlouw, "does not vote for his/her own interest unless he/she belongs to a group which wants to speak but has no amplifier, which wants to take a look but cannot get at the light switch, and so forth." The "ideological" profiling of Terlouw, "national" versus "narrow group interests," an approach which after all has been successful at the polls, has been inspired into the Democrats by fear as well as by political party strategy. The bugbear of the pragmatists: not standing out clearly enough. This deep-rooted fear on the part of D'66 was once more clearly evinced during the general debate when fraction chairman Terlouw, speaking at the conclusion of his first instance, asked: "Does this way of putting things render us unclear? Do people not know where we stand?"

The "reasonable alternative" of D'66, in spite of all of the vagueness, continues to exercise a still growing attractive power on the electorate of the Netherlands, as indicated by the recent figures of opinion polls. To the extent that the party grows in size, the need will also grow for the

party to make clear its stand in regard to other parties. This has occasioned some alarm among the traditional parties. And so the Steenkamp commission issued a memorandum calling on the CDA [Christian Democratic Appeal] to adopt "more of an attitude of action." Toward that end the contacts among the CDA government officials, fraction leaders and party management will have to be intensified.

The need of D'66 for a more pronounced profiling appears, among other things, from a recent choice of the D'66 advisory council, a choice of an independent formation in the political-power field. Another factor is described by Professor F. van Heek in the September issue of CIVUS MUNDI: "Toward the success of an ideology it helps that the individual group members can find back their own problems in the involved ideology, in such a way as to increase their self-respect. The socialist ideology, for example, which calls for greater social equality, finds an echo with the manual laborer who is dissatisfied about the relatively limited social prestige of his job; the liberal ideology of the free play of the social forces reflects the desire of big-scale and small-scale entrepreneurs for more elbow-room for their activities and shows respect for the greater or lesser captains of industry. The ideology of the denominational parties can give its adherents the satisfied feeling of being motivated Christians."

But what satisfied feeling can D'66 give the electorate, in the long run? No very clear answer was given to this at Utrecht. The increasing critical company within the D'66 circles, consisting of advanced scholars, academicians and other specialists, does call for such an answer. An unmistakably charismatic leader such as Terlouw can get around this obstacle. He soothes his members with "common interest" versus "narrow group interests." In the sphere of psychological warfare this is called: reinforcing the enemy picture. It may be doubted whether the lesser gods in the D'66 ideology can also present things as well as Terlouw. Utrecht has once more made it clear: Terlouw is king; the successor to the throne is lacking.

D'66 claims that it is not an interest party. The fact is that the Democrats exert considerable attractive power on floating voters, who try out CDA, VVD [People's Party for Freedom and Democracy] or then again PvdA. The limited membership, about 13,000, shows that it makes little sense for the floating vote to let itself be enclosed in D'66. The party members, to the contrary, to use the words of former chairman Glastra van Loon, are "not simply democrats, they are thorough-going Democrats who favor renewal and who advocate emancipation. Also in the 1970's, 1980's and 1990's. For we are here not simply to continue but to continue renewing, democratizing and working at emancipation."

Terms which still benefit 1979, and that because they are aimed at a well-schooled public, which can juggle further with this framework of concepts. The learned American G. A. Schumpeter saw this development coming in 1943 and laid it down in his standard work "Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy."

According to this scientist, the number of critical intellectuals is increasing markedly through the democratization of education. A discomfort with the culture is the direct result of this democratization: reduced prestige, crumbling job opportunities for intellectuals, lower salaries (Minister Wiegel wants a reduction in the beginning salaries for young academicians in government employ), and so forth. Schumpeter states: "Dissatisfaction arouses resentment. And often too it is rationalized into social criticism which the intellectual onlooker already prefers to exercise toward people, classes and institutions, particularly in a rationalistic society based on utility." (Confer the group egoism on which Terlouw is hammering.) According to Schumpeter we have here "a clear-cut group situation with a proletarian slant and a group mentality formed by group interest." This explanation for hostility toward the capitalist system is more realistic, so says Schumpeter, than the theory that the "honest indignation" of the intellectual about the unfairness of capitalism is the result of the execrable facts. In other words, D'66 also interprets "narrow group interests." And Terlouw, mindful of the theory of Schumpeter, philosophizes at Utrecht: "Weariness, defeatism, despondency, science, technology, political priorities, everything is put in the service of an increase in prosperity. With considerable success. With little satisfaction. Therefore life fulfillment is also a political matter. Therefore politics should shift its priorities."

The difficulty for the Democrats is that of giving concrete form to their "progressive policy." Toward that end they need a coalition partner. The policy of "unrestraint" still produces election victories. Caution is accordingly imperative for D'66, because the favor of the voters is soon forfeited with "restraint." That is why D'66 cannot choose either for or against the modernization of nuclear arms. That is the reason for the woolly formulation of the new party chairman, H. Zeevalking, who said that D'66 would not soon take a seat in a government without the socialists, to hastily add that this does not mean that the party should always sit in a coalition with the PvdA.

In other words, the Democrats do not care to participate in the present government coalition of VVD and CDA, nor to sit in a minority cabinet which would undoubtedly be dominated by the socialists. L. J. Brinknorst, a D'66 parliamentary deputy, said on a certain occasion that the "most fundamental significance" of the D'66 line lies in the possibility of forcing a breakthrough in the "encrusted political party relationships in the Netherlands." Object: putting the Christian Democrats out of the game. This would have to be done by putting into power a VVD-PvdA-D'66 coalition. But the socialists are as yet refusing the liberals as allies. There is little enthusiasm on the part of the PvdA toward embracing the VVD, all the more so now that more and more liberal voices are being raised toward nominating Vice Prime Minister Wiegel for heading the list [government] in new elections. The only role which D'66 can play on the Dutch political scene is within a CDA-PvdA-D'66 coalition. In this way the Democrats would be embedded in the political trend in our country. D'66 constitutes "the fourth pillar" through its own group interest. A pillar which is based on shifting sand electorally, to be sure. However, in Netherlands' political affairs you never know.

AP'S FRAGA IRIBARNE ON POLITICAL OPTIONS FACING PARTY

Interview: Move to Right

Madrid ABC in Spanish 27 Nov 79 pp 13, 15, 17

[Interview with Deputy Manuel Fraga Iribarne, head of the Popular Alliance party, by Pilar Urbano; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] "I Want No 'Fragism'"

[Question] "Fragism" as a response from an electorate to a man, is being fostered by "right-wing people." How is Fraga endeavoring to lead a "centrist" party?

[Answer] I want no "Fragism" to exist. In fact, I have been more criticized for my desire for alliances or coalitions in one direction or another, than for my wish for personalism. What I dispute, and I have always disputed it, is the feasibility of applying labels, which always restrict and exclude. If we want an open political force which can aspire to be a majority, we must make it populist, without the workers or the youth, for example, feeling left out of it. I visit the provinces and the towns constantly. We can and we should be that kind of party, simultaneously conservative and reformist, and a defender of unity and order, but also of social justice, which Spain needs. I do not summon the right to this, but rather the natural majority in a nation of middle classes; or, to use the expression of our classicists, "the greatest and best part of the country." Furthermore, no one talked about the center before we did in Spain; and the position of the British conservatives or the presidential majority in France is no different. What we reject is a left-center created with the votes and money of the right-center, which is what we are suffering from in Spain today.

"Suarez Neither Assumes the Responsibility Nor Decides"

[Question] I take the liberty of insisting. You are accused of having an "obsession for Suarez," and of a "craze for centrism." This may not be so, but...that is how it appears. What do you say about this, Don Manuel?

[Answer] I repeat that I brought the idea of the center to Spanish politics. I never considered it to be a centrist party, which is a residual, weak position everywhere, as in the case of the liberals in Great Britain and Germany; but rather as a system of political forces polarizing not the extremes, but the moderates. For example, in Great Britain there is an extreme right, the National Front, but it carries little weight. There is a Communist Party, but it has not even gained one deputy. The Conservatives and Laborites are right-center and left-center.

As for Mr Suarez, we gave him our votes, without compensation, for the investiture; and we did so patriotically, so that he would not have to make a deal with Marxists or nationalists. It was futile, because he has continued to do so without necessity. He has in no way decided to govern with the real majority in the country; he has not decided to go the Parliament, to assume the responsibility and to make a decision. So, we can do nothing more than what we are doing: telling the truth to the country, and saying that we shall have no part in this. Without decision, and on the basis of consensus, Spain's major problems (national unity, security for the citizens, economic crisis, etc.) are without a solution.

[Question] Still in the "chapter of affronts," why are you constantly surrounded by flights, abandonment, the breakdown of agreements and mergers of "proper nouns"? Everything prompts one to suspect that you are not a comfortable traveling companion. What is your problem: have you been unable to choose the individuals, or don't you know how to hold onto them? Is it bad company, or bad treatment?

[Answer] The Popular Alliance has not ejected nor purged anyone from here; nor has it waited for a congress (although it is planned within a month) to discuss its positions. I have made agreements and dealt with everyone, while they have refused to change parties or to impose minority views. The history of all parties, especially at the time of founding and when elections and candidacies are imminent, always includes personalist phenomena. I have always accepted the decision of the majority, and I think that others should do the same. I shall not be so uncomfortable when that majority continues to be steadfast and even unanimous in the unity and identity of the Popular Alliance.

[Question] On one occasion, you criticized Adolfo Suarez for avoiding brilliant people and surrounding himself with mediocre individuals without distinction. You, on the other hand, prefer to gather "great men." But they "stand by" Suarez, and not you. Why? Is it perhaps that where there are men like Suarez or Fraga, there is no room for other leadership?

[Answer] I suppose that I do not have to explain the difference between doing things in a position of power or in the street. I am calmly awaiting the comparison when, as in soccer, the field changes. I would like to see some people without any more power than that of their personal conviction, without the "Official Bulletin" and television at their command. My cabinet ministers were remarkable and enduring.

"This Is My Alternative...."

[Question] What are your alternate proposals for the social order: political stability, economic progress and individual prosperity?

[Answer] Political stability: We must speak clearly. Today (as we all know) we are undergoing a constitutional reform, a change in the electoral law and a revamping of the party system. France did this in 1958, and changed from a weak, unstable democracy into a strong, stable democracy. Economic progress: The economy is a political economy; we must restore confidence, which entails keeping law and order, telling the truth to the country and revising the labor laws, so that there will be output and productivity. The workers are the ones who stand to gain most from this. Today, we are heading toward 2 million unemployed. Social order: It cannot be achieved by undermining the family, making deals with terrorists or losing the relentless cultural war of Marxism. Individual prosperity: It is contingent upon personal security, economic stability and employment; whereas inflation and unemployment destroy it. In short, it depends on a cultural level and on hopes, which are now in default. It all stems from the same thing: a weak, ineffective government.

"We Shall Not Sign Divorce Nor Other Wonders...."

[Question] In what respect does your "center" party differ from the one led by Suarez; and in what respect does it differ from Silva's "right wing" party?

[Answer] I do not think that there is any doubt about your first question. We are not signing the word "nationalities," nor the Eighth Chapter of the Constitution, nor the amnesties for terrorists, nor this or that consensus; nor do we intend to sign the law on divorce and other wonders of the self-styled centrists. We are not receiving Arafat, nor shall we go to Havana. The list would be endless.

The second question would be a good one to ask of Mr Silva who, in order to unify the right, has created a new party the strength of which is an unknown quantity.

[Question] Mr Fraga, have you considered the danger involved if a supposedly centrist AP should lose a large sector of voters from its right wing...who would increase further still the amount of dissatisfied abstention, or turn over the seats in the new legislature to four or five New Force deputies?

[Answer] The Popular Alliance does not want to change its identity or its platform; it wants to continue to be what it is. It is not the New Force, nor UCD [Democratic Center Union], nor anything else but itself. It is very grateful for the advice from either side, but it is not swerving. It is pursuing its course which has already been explained, and trusts in the future and in the good sense of the Spanish people. Insofar as the presence

of other groups of deputies is concerned, I hope that the voters will consider the use that is being made of each one of the seats at their disposal.

[Question] I have heard you say that the large percentage of abstention is a clear indication that there is room for a right-center. Then why not accrue that support? With what type of "charm" are you going to mobilize the dormant votes in your direction?

[Answer] All those questions are based on the assumption that the electorate is going to allow itself to be deceived for the third time by the televised opium of the people. That would have to be proven also. In any event, what has occurred between 1976 and the present proves that the UCD government is not going to solve Spain's problems. It must be stressed that neither reform nor democracy is to blame, but rather the poor manner in which they have been implemented. And the left itself should realize that the quick, unwarranted concessions will be difficult to digest over the long term. In any case, all the "official" commentators from the center (such as Mr Abel Hernandez) want us to push in that direction. There must be some reason for it.

"We Are Going...Nowhere"

[Question] Let us turn, if you will, to the subject of the "great policy." Toward what type of state do you think we are heading? In what direction should we go? What are the dangers involved in the organization of an autonomous state? What are the advantages of decentralizing certain government organs?

[Answer] Today, we are going nowhere. The Constitution of 1978, like the ones of 1812, 1869 and 1931, is more inflated with impressive words and resounding ambiguity than with clearcut decisions and realistic solutions. It is leading us toward the path of Italy or Portugal, and not toward that of Germany, France or the United Kingdom. Spain needs a strong state, an effective government and an overt, responsible opposition; no more consensuses and postponements. The autonomies on all levels (provincial, district, regional and functional) are good in themselves; but as a basis for nationalism (and not to mention separatism) and for privileges, and economic and cultural fragmentation, they are very bad. To decentralize and deconcentrate is good; but to return to the Middle Ages, with separate, weak and conflicting little states is very bad. The Constitution should be reformed, eliminating the expression "nationalities," and establishing genuine cooperation and solidarity among all Spaniards. Moreover, the separatist, revolutionary terrorists are laughing at the Statutes.

"To Govern, One Must Choose, One Must Become Involved"

[Question] Has "consensus" been used out of necessity or out of weakness? In certain respects, flexibility appeared to be circumspection; and in others, selling out. Could you tell us about this?

[Answer] Consensus is an abnormal method of relating the government to the opposition. It might be warranted in certain constitutional matters, such as the form of the state; to some extent, it might be accepted as a normal form of government. But, in order to govern, one must choose, one must become involved. There are some who prefer to temporize each day. One must go to Parliament, make a speech, and then act accordingly. There are some who prefer to avoid this, so long as they can continue to attract.

[Question] A public poll has been circulating here in which questions are asked about the action of the present government: Is it performing well? Is it performing poorly? Is it doing everything that it can? Is it a fact that it could not be performing worse? Would another type of government do better? I invite you, Mr Fraga, to express your views on this topic.

[Answer] From all the data that we have from a poll which was not supposed to be secret, but public, the results are very negative for the government. My opinion is obvious. Let the objective data speak. What was the status of prices, the stock exchange, public order, unemployment, etc., in Spain when Mr Suarez took over the government 3 years ago? All the indicators have become much worse; none has improved. This is the answer that is given to the Spanish people.

"Let the Police Really Act"

[Question] It is certainly easier to criticize than to solve. What solutions do you propose? Solutions regarding the economy, internal defense, public order, citizens' ethics, foreign policy, autonomies, etc.

[Answer] I shall begin by reminding you, my dear friend, that I have not only been with the opposition; I have been in the government as well. When they placed me in charge of tourism, I put Spain in first place, worldwide. When I was concerned with the news media, I really established radio and television, and I made the Press Law. When I was responsible for the security of the Spanish people, during the 7 difficult months following the death of Franco, security was maintained. During those 7 dreadful months, there were seven victims of terrorism; fewer than the number in more than one weekend since then. I think that this is the clearest reply to your question.

In any case, I shall try to add something else, in a telegraphic manner; but I offer to hold a lengthy interview on each point. Economy: to restore confidence. Internal defense: to eliminate terrorism by all possible means. Public order: to let the police really act. Citizens' ethics: good example at the top, starting with a reduction in the intolerable public spending. Foreign policy: the Western type, including NATO, and protecting the interests of Spain (and not ideologies). Autonomies: giving to the region what belongs to the region, and to Spain what belongs to Spain; operating ceiling: Italian. And many et ceteras.

[Question] At times of tension, certain sectors of the dissatisfied right wing invoke the "messianism" of regression. Do you think it possible that a "government coup," and I am not saying a "coup d'etat," might satisfactorily reorganize the course of the national policy? Could such a "coup" be handled by a coalition government? What type of individuals would it have to combine?

[Answer] It is an unquestionable fact that either a serious reform (constitutional, electoral and administrative) must be made, or the danger of regression will become worse. I do not think that the issue can now be resolved by a mere government crisis. Coalition governments are all quite fleeting, contradictory and weak, except for planning the reform itself and revamping the political forces. I repeat, what must be provided is leeway for Spain to create its natural majority, which wants unity, order, law, morality and work. It wants continuity and reforms, and no more disruption or rashness on either side. That majority was here, in the referendum of 1976, when 80 percent of the Spanish people was confronted with 20 percent of those abstaining, which is all the the disruptive groups could gather; and Mr Suarez bears a serious responsibility for having crushed and confused it. And, as for the individuals, remember the famous comments from "The Taxis of the Marne" "There was not one good general in the France of Louis XV; with Napoleon, they had to be collected with a shovel."

"The Government Has a Parliamentary Allergy"

[Question] In addition to your career in the service of Spain and your leadership in the Popular Alliance party, you are currently a deputy. From that standpoint, I would like you to pass judgment on an important aspect of the Parliament: With the system of parliamentary groups and voting discipline, is there genuine representation?

[Answer] In my opinion, the political parties and their parliamentary organs, namely, the groups, are exercising excessive leadership in the political process. They are overly subsidized; they create too many sinecures; they dominate the electoral slates. Several of them force their members to sign a resignation with a blank date; a document which I consider to be void and unconstitutional, as I hope the Constitutional Court will declare on the first occasion when one is submitted. We have an excessively party-cratic system, with inadequate controls at the base, which entail semidirect democratic institutions, such as popular initiative and the referendum, or primary elections. This is another factor involved in the serious abstention of the citizens, combined with the slight output from the Parliament, which works fewer hours per week than any other in Europe, acting with a great lag, apart from the fact that it seldom holds a timely debate on the main problems that really concern the country. Needless to say, most of the blame in this respect lies with the government, which has a real parliamentary allergy.

[Question] I would like to have us conclude this conversation with a combined estimation and assessment of the "monarchy" situation, at the very time of the fourth anniversary of the coronation of King Don Juan Carlos I.

[Answer] In 4 years, the Crown has fulfilled everything that the king announced in his historic address to the Spanish people when he assumed the office of head of state. We should all wish him further success now, and offer him our utmost support in the performance of the lofty tasks entrusted to him by the Constitution.

Foresees Confrontation in Future

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 28 Nov 79 p 18

[Text] "A civil confrontation will become inevitable if the present insecurity and confusion continue," predicts the head of Popular Alliance, Manuel Fraga, in a text prepared as a draft political report for that party's third congress, which will take place from 14 to 16 December in the capital of Spain.

The report contains an intensive attack on the current government, as the one responsible for a state of "complete disrepute," the drastic elimination of the revolutionary and separatist forces (it mentions the PCE [Spanish Communist Party] among the revolutionary ones) and the attempt to pass itself off as the party defending the great social institutions, interpreted as being the family, the Church and the Armed Forces.

In his document, which the "Europa Press" agency has made available, Manuel Fraga declares: "We are living at a time of widespread frustration and disillusionment." The situation is one of "a genuine state crisis," and the very issue of legitimacy is being brought up, according to the Alliance's leader. "People are becoming weary of democracy, without ever having come to know it; they are questioning all the institutions, including the most lofty, because things are not going well." He also says that the government and its president are completely lacking in credibility, and no one expects the problems of the citizens' security or the economic recession to be resolved.

According to Fraga, the very ones who made the Constitution have often been forcing it in key areas, such as the hasty, ambiguous drafting of the Statutes and the abuse of the decree-laws. He adds that the Constitution should be reformed, and complains about the existence of too many parties (termed "party-itis") and about the replacement of government-opposition dialectics by the so-called consensus.

The author of the report declares: "All the plans to improve the future of Spain involve, in the political area, a revamping of the party system;" interpreting this as the creation of "strong, responsible national forces,

with a regional projection and responsibility, but avoiding the proliferation of local factions," as well as a "drastic elimination, in compliance with the Constitution and the laws, of the revolutionary and separatist forces which use violence to attain their goals."

Then he indicates that the Communist Party has adopted Eurocommunist trappings, and has removed the term "Leninist" from its description; but, "it is still a revolutionary, Marxist and classist party, which uses the Workers Commissions and many other parallel associations for constant agitation against the economic and social system, and which aspires to a total change in the political system, through infiltration, cultural warfare and other procedures."

In addition to the aforementioned draft report, the national board of directors of the Popular Alliance met yesterday to make various plans for the next party congress (including approval of the regulation whereby the latter will be held); and it also issued a declaration concerning the "general state of the nation."

The latter communique expresses AP's deep concern over the "increasingly evident deterioration in public order, and the growing defenselessness of the society and the state; and also over the government's inability to react to the terrorist blackmail," which has recently been reflected in the kidnapping of Javier Ruperez and the assassination of members of the forces of public order and of civilians.

2909

CSO: 3110

FINANCE MINISTER INTERVIEWED, DISCUSSES DEFICIT, OTHER TOPICS

Madrid ABC in Spanish 13 Nov 79 p 45, 46

[Interview with Finance Minister Jaime Garcia Anoveros by J.A. Franco Oliven; date and place not given]

[Text] "The delays in 1979, which resulted from the approval of the budget in July, together with the normal allocations of the 1980 budget, which will not be delayed, will cause an accumulation and, therefore, a speedup in investment outlays over the next 5 months," Finance Minister Jaime Garcia Anoveros told the economics section of ABC in a brief conversation in which telephone calls and time pressures were not exactly uninvited guests.

The minister was satisfied with the pace of efforts in the Budget Committee of the Congress of Deputies, which is considering the bill submitted by the government. "As far as I know, there are no clear-cut alternatives to this budget. Wishes are something else, but they have no counterpart in what is possible at the moment."

[Question] Nevertheless, Mr Garcia Anoveros, the circumstances, both foreign (there is talk of zero growth) and domestic, are substantially different from the ones that constituted a framework for the outlines of the draft 1980 budget...

[Answer] The budget is not out of line with today's realities, and it will work, as far as we know, although the circumstances are obviously very much subject to change, and they have been taken into account in the government's economic program; the 1980 budget has been drafted in accordance with its guidelines and it respects its commitments. In order to achieve the ultimate objective of the government's economic program, which is none other than to have the

economy grow in a balanced way to its maximum potential, our budget policy is based on the following guidelines: curbing the public sector deficit so that financing it does not jeopardize our anti-inflationary monetary policy; the reallocation of available resources into public investment at the expense of consumption-related expenditures, with the emphasis on public investment in production; a moderate increase in tax pressures and full use of tax incentives for investment, and more financing for both the social security system and unemployment insurance.

Fear of Public Sector Deficit

[Question] Criticism of the budget is heaviest in the category of public expenditures...

[Answer] I have to admit that there has been a slowdown in current public expenditures, especially consumption and operating expenses, and coming after already considerable efforts at cutbacks. The rise in current expenditures is about 17 percent, which is lower than the forecasted GDP growth in nominal terms, and this is despite the growing burden of servicing the public debt, which is up 51 percent. We have, however, consolidated the investment efforts of previous years and reordered our priorities towards investments that directly entail production and generate jobs.

[Question] Nonetheless, very few people believe that the initial 1980 deficit of 290 billion will not grow much larger, as the experience of past fiscal years has shown...

[Answer] The criticisms by Socialists and Communists in this regard were to the effect that there should be a higher deficit, more revenue and more tax pressures. What the press has emphasized most has been the heavy deficit, the sizable expenditures and, above all, the need to rationalize public expenditures for social security and the state as well.

The fact is, a very remarkable effort has been made in connection with the amount of the deficit. That figure of 290 billion pesetas is smaller in monetary terms and in real terms than the 1979 deficit is going to be, after cutting back the projected 400 billion figure by 100 billion. An effort has been made to record everything that we can foresee, without hiding anything. The federal deficit includes the major additional resources earmarked for unemployment insurance, social security, the National Institute of Industry, sectors in crisis and city governments. Realistically bearing in mind these major categories from the very beginning, we hope that the gap at the end of the fiscal year is minimal, but in any case it ultimately depends on political choices. If the deputies want to achieve greater ambitions, expenditures will logically have to rise.

Planning Bond Issues to Prevent Overlapping

[Question] Whether there is a gap or not, the fact is that the financing of the deficit is a cause for concern.

[Answer] The deficit is going to be financed with 100 billion pesetas of public debt, 20 billion pesetas in foreign loans and 170 billion pesetas in Bank of Spain resources. I think that this is reasonable financing. There has been a cutback in Bank of Spain advances, and the foreign financing depends on developments in our balance of payments.

[Question] People have even been talking about unfair competition on the part of the state when the time comes to compete in the marketplace with its own bond issues, and they add that the state makes things easier for itself by granting higher tax exemptions to people who underwrite these issues. What is your view in this regard?

[Answer] We must bear in mind in this regard that the total liquid assets available to the private sector are going to increase more than proportionally in 1980. Moreover, if we did not issue debt bonds, the Bank of Spain would have to take up the commitment, which would also entail a reduction in assets available to the private sector. The only thing that happens is that the state can finance its deficit a bit more inexpensively.

[Question] So then, there is no way to cut down on this competition?

[Answer] The way to do it is to plan bond issues in the market for the public and private sectors so that harmful overlapping is avoided, but the progress in this direction has been slow so far. I want to emphasize, however, that the problem of the deficit has been accorded special attention because expenditures have been cut. Consumption-related expenditures have been reduced 35 billion, and operating expenses show practically no growth in 1980. This month we are going to circulate instructions to begin the zero-based programs. Changes are being made in decision-making processes to achieve the maximum possible rationalization. We are going to set up a system of incompatibilities and rationalize the pension system as well.

Production Expenditures Buildup in 1980

[Question] In connection with investment expenditures, do you think that the major publicly supported projects (such as the PEN [expansion unknown], communications, RTVE [Spanish Radio and Television], rural electrification, etc), which would probably prompt a renewed upswing in private investment, are finally going to get underway?

[Answer] The only thing that I can tell you is that there were, in fact, delays in public investments as a result of the late passage of the 1979 budget, which came in July, but the 1979 backlogs are going to be lumped together with the 1980 budget, which will not be delayed, and the result will be a major speedup in investment outlays over the next 5 months.

[Question] Nevertheless, businessmen and investors are not encouraged by the new tax arrangement. Specifically, they feel that it penalizes investment...

[Answer] It cannot be reasonably said that investments are as they are because of tax reasons. There are other reasons having to do with prospects that are a factor in the investment downturn.

Tax Reform Moves Forward

[Question] Allow me to stress this point. Businessmen have been insistent in calling for a lighter tax burden. Has this affected the administration at all? Has it lowered its guard in this connection?

[Answer] We have not lowered any guard. There are requests of this sort from all corners, but the various provisions are being approved one by one. What is happening is that there is increasing fear of the unknown, and the real impact of the reform will not be seen until the end of 1980. They are asking for lighter taxes on unearned income and increased investment deductions, but adjustments have been made with respect to unearned income, and additional ones are on the way; moreover, reinvested unearned income is more generously exempt than ever, both for companies and private citizens. The government has repeatedly announced that there would be adjustment formulas for physical persons and companies when inflation so dictated.

This year 7 million income-tax filers will benefit from exemptions, as compared to 168,000 last year. A 15 or 20 percent financing charged to the state is a considerable amount. The incentives for investments in owner-occupied dwellings cost the state more than 60 billion pesetas alone. I would stress the fear of the unknown, and therefore in housing, for example, we are trying to make things very clear so that there is no uncertainty in this regard.

Intense Campaign About Income Tax

[Question] With regard to the income tax, the public is up in arms about the delayed issuance of the regulations governing the tax declaration. What is the ministry doing about this?

[Answer] The regulations have already been approved, and their appearance in the "Official State Gazette" is imminent. In any case, the withholding system, which is the actual operational facet of the tax, had already been approved at the proper time. We are making a major effort to have the declaration forms, the new payment and tax assistance sites, etc ready. We are going to launch a very intense campaign to explain all of the details, as well as a campaign to explain the benefits of applying the tax to housing, unregistered securities, etc.

[Question] In any case, the acid test for your tax reform is close at hand. I am referring to the deadline and procedure for refunds of excess withholding.

[Answer] We realize that the credibility of the reform hinges on this. We want to make the refund system especially streamlined, in close connection with the Inspection Office.

[Question] Do you mean that declarations showing a refund to be made by the government will have to go through the Inspection Office first?

[Answer] Not necessarily.

[Question] Lastly, Mr Garcia Anoveros, a traditional question for a finance minister. How is your cash situation? How are revenues coming along?

[Answer] Revenues are below what was forecast. Contributing factors have been the lower revenue from the corporate income tax, because the advances on 1980 were not collected, and the rise in tax exemptions as a result of increased exports. Thus, higher revenues have been offset basically by these falloffs, together with oil prices.

The minister's tireless telephone rings on in the background.

8743

C80: 3110

NEED FOR GREATER LEFTIST COOPERATION IN MUNICIPALITIES VIEWED

Madrid MUNDO OBRERO in Spanish 18 Nov 79 p 5

[Editorial: "PSOE-PCE (Spanish Socialist Workers Party-Spanish Communist Party) Municipal Agreement: Let's Get to Work!"]

[Text] If we had to summarize in a single phrase the discussion and conclusions regarding the municipal issue at the recent PSOE-PCE summit meeting, it would be this: Let's get to work!

The basic reasons constituting the groundwork of the agreement last April are still fully valid: the cooperation of Socialists and Communists, and when applicable, other progressive forces in city governments, is the most suitable political formula for the democratization of local life and the interests of the citizenry. The experience of these months confirms this, especially if we bear in mind the UCD's [Democratic Center Union] economic and social policy (curtailing public investment in housing, health care, education, etc), its delaying and obstructionist approach in the area of legislation on local government, and above all, the economic blockade to which it wants to condemn local treasuries (confirmed by Abril Martorell's reply to the mayors' proposals).

The experience of these months also shows the limitations in the effectiveness and transparency of leftist efforts. The agreement can and must work better and begin to bear tangible fruits for the citizens. So, let's get to work!

How?

To begin with, by enhancing the joint efforts of Socialists and Communists; by eliminating hesitation and sectarianism, which create unnecessary conflicts; by striving, all of us, to see to it that the performance of our elected officials, based on their own positions, is in keeping with what the pacts stipulate; in other words, by rectifying actions that suggest personality cults, presidential ambitions, localisms, etc.

By generalizing methods of consultation among groups of councilmen and provincial deputies from both parties, so that there is full agreement in plenary sessions.

In order to take stock of what has happened during these months and analyze these problems, we think that the leaders of the two parties ought to meet at all levels, following the example that the top level gave with its meeting on the 12th in Madrid, and as is now taking place in Barcelona.

The agreements for 1980 should entail the formulation of Municipal Action Plans (or a package of equivalent measures) in each town and based on the following two elements:

First, joint approval of the regular and special budgets for 1980. With regard to revenue, these budgets must bolster local treasuries by means of the methods provided for in Royal Decree-Law 11/79 of June. In implementing these budgets, we must remain very much aware of the social differences among citizens and make the tax burden clearly progressive.

In terms of expenditures, the budgets must aim decidedly at social investments in the most urgent areas for each municipality, so that they translate into direct and immediate, even if partial, improvements.

Second, the joint formulation and implementation of a policy relating to information and participation, to enhance the image of city government and improve its relations with citizens so that they will lend it their support in confronting the resistance that it comes up against in its efforts.

We feel that any decision on new taxes or rates, transportation and other measures should be preceded and followed by intensive information campaigns aimed at the public. City governments would use their own or hired resources and go on radio to give an account of their performance.

With regard to participation, an issue that has produced some degree of tension between the two parties, we have reached the conclusion that we must act by common agreement, strengthen the principle of participation without being rigid or intransigent and see to it that the people's and citizen movement bolsters, not weakens, the efforts of leftist city governments.

Another point on which there has been full agreement is the need for the city governments to assert their democratic authority, by not permitting boycotts or yielding to blackmail either by the UCD or isolated officials seeking to head off leftist efforts. The

democratic municipalities must make themselves worthy of the backing of the majority of municipal workers. To this end, they must pursue a personnel policy that is responsive to their problems and makes the improvements that their work indicates are necessary, and they must count on them to begin administrative reforms and the improvement of services. The PSOE and the PCE agree that the class labor unions must act in a united fashion in leftist institutions, both when it comes time to voice grievances and to cooperate.

Finally, with regard to the future Local Government Law, the discussions resulted in an agreement to cooperate on the parliamentary level and seek an understanding with other groups to insure a progressive law. Outside of parliament, local institutions can join in this effort by fostering the participation of the public in discussing the bill that the government submits and the basic criteria that must shape the bill.

The outcome of the meeting could not be clearer. The municipal agreement must continue to work and work better than it has so far, above all to show the citizens results and to resist the pressures aimed at detracting from its effectiveness. The bottom line depends on the implementation of the aforementioned initiatives. Let's get to work!

8743

CSO: 3110

CATALONIA AFTER TARRADELLAS: POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENTS

Madrid ACTUALIDAD ECONOMICA in Spanish 24-30 Nov 79 pp 49, 51, 53

[Article by Fernando Llorens Pascual]

[Text] People in autonomous Catalonia are asking about such simple and significant things as, for example, who has the most influence and political power, the president as the symbol of the Generalitat (legislative assembly) or the political parties and the future parliament. Also why the PSUC [Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia], the party of Catalan Communists, has, or at least seems to have, more backing in Catalonia than the PCE [Spanish Communist Party] has in the rest of the country.

Obviously, people in Catalonia and the rest of the country as well would like to know and are wondering whether the balance of political forces could change in the first parliament of autonomous Catalonia, or to simplify things to the maximum, whether the left will eventually achieve hegemony in Catalonia. Many people would also like to know whether Catalan leaders will occupy seats in what will be the first legislature of the autonomous government of Catalonia or whether, on the contrary, they do not plan to abandon their places in the Madrid parliament because they feel part of Spain. From Catalonia, ACTUALIDAD ECONOMICA will try to erase some of these question marks, especially the ones connected with the issue of the "troublesome succession."

Perhaps the most obvious concern in Catalonia at the moment, along with the troublesome economic situation, is the startup of the home rule institutions. The reason is that, if we rule out the possibility that the current president of the Generalitat, Josep Tarradellas, will run for reelection, unless he heads up a list of party candidates for parliament (which is highly unlikely), the problem of his successor still remains to be resolved, and in a situation in which Catalonia seems to be without really major figures. This does not in any way mean that good and honest politicians do not exist, merely that at least most of them lack what Tarradellas has in abundance: stature.

To many political observers who have seen how Tarradellas has made the Generalitat the moral center of Catalonia and how he has earned the respect of all parties and a very large segment of social forces, his repeated assertion that "my mission will end when the new parliament has elected its president" illustrates the need to distinguish between what is debatable and contingent and what is unquestionable and fundamental. The stands taken by President Josep Tarradellas and the political forces, as well as their peculiar relations (the critical situation experienced by the Consell Executiu [Government of the Generalitat], or everything that has come to pass since 29 September 1977, for example, come under the heading of debatable... But, as LA VANGUARDIA recently emphasized, "the reestablishment of Catalonia's age-old institution was possible only because our historic democratic legitimacy, embodied by the honorable Mr Tarradellas, coincided with the electoral democratic legitimacy that stemmed from the ballot box." This reestablishment of the Generalitat, the political institution of Catalan home rule, is irreversible and has at no time entailed the breakup of the community of Catalan citizens.

In fact, observers underscore, over these 2 years, and despite political misunderstandings, difficulties and vicissitudes, there has been a steady strengthening of the Generalitat as a representative and governmental institution of Catalonia. We have seen the steady institutional consolidation of the Generalitat as Catalonia's representative to the central government, and the groundwork has been gradually laid for the functioning of the statutory Generalitat. According to all observers, a basic step in the laying of this groundwork will be a massive voter turnout at the Catalanian parliamentary elections, which are supposed to be held all next spring. The name of the new president of the Generalitat will emerge from this Catalan house of representatives, after the electoral scheming and the obvious desires of Catalan political parties not to renounce their leading roles have already at times given indications of a truly alarming meanness of intentions.

No One Wants a Populist Front Generalitat

All in all, and even though we have recently seen a wideranging move to prevent a leftist politician from becoming Tarradellas's successor (Democratic Convergence has already begun to distance itself somewhat from the Socialists and Communists, at least with regard to Barcelona municipal politics), the fact is that the Catalan political spectrum today is dominated by four groups, none of which has a majority (the Socialists, with somewhat more than 30 percent of the votes at the latest elections, are out in front), and that each one must seek a pact with another major group. In other words, and to

conclude this point, either the UCD [Democratic Center Union] centrists come to an agreement with the nationalists in Democratic Convergence in a joint effort to achieve a difficult majority, or it will come from a Socialist-Democratic Convergence ticket, in which case the Generalitat would be presided over by Reventos-Pujol. At the moment, all combinations seem possible, except (let's say it without further ado) the one that so many people fear; that is to say, that a hegemony of Socialists and Communists might give rise to a strictly left-wing government. This possibility, which the ballot box does, in fact, afford, should not keep President Suarez awake at night, inasmuch as, from what we can see, nothing is further removed from Socialist and Communist expectations than the establishment of a first Generalitat Government that might be termed a "populist front" government. And this, of course, meets with the approval of the other two contending parties.

PSUC Backing

We might find it surprising that so many political observe. regard the establishment of what could be branded a populist front Generalitat as not viable, whether arguing against Suarez-Carrillo pacts or deeming the PSUC's decision proper, when we also notice that Catalan's Socialist Party (PSUC-PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party]) is dominant and that the PSUC is backed by 20 percent of the Catalan electorate. In other words, if if they made up their minds to, they could form a Generalitat Government by themselves. Nevertheless, ruling out this possibility because of the desire to avoid at all costs the confrontation that such a Generalitat would prompt in Madrid, we should also ask ourselves what the origin and explanation are of the Catalan people's greater willingness to vote Communist than the rest of Spain's citizens.

The party of Catalan Communists itself must have wondered about this also on many occasions, because it has done a political analysis of it and concluded that its backing is primarily due to its 40 years of opposition to Franco, which links it quite closely to (we might almost say intertwines it with) Catalonia's political fabric. Moreover, we should also bear in mind that the PSUC, in contrast to the PCE, is not weighed down by the millstone of the "ghosts" that the name of Santiago Carrillo, for example, conjures up. Nor is the PSUC weighed down by misinformation bias, and it might even benefit from the fact that its acronym (Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia) does not include the word communist.

Could the Balance of Forces Change?

Another question that we have posed and that both politicians and the average citizen are asking themselves concerns the parliamentary

elections and whether a potentially higher voter turnout could alter the balance of forces.

This question is, needless to say, pertinent, because the sizable electoral abstention at the referendum on the statute (no less than 40 percent) shows that a broad segment of the citizenry does not want to participate in the construction of Catalan national life and that, at least so far, one-third of the voters are indifferent to the political issues affecting their community. Voter abstention is due not only to a lack of civic conscience, disillusionment or weariness, but also to the negative impact of the "ghettoes" (read immigrants) and to the fact that ultimately, burning issues such as personal security and the economic situation outweigh politics.

Nonetheless, after considering the combined impact of all these factors, we can assert that regardless of the extent of the voter abstention, it will work to the detriment of the political forces as a whole and, therefore, of the autonomous Generalitat, not just some parties to the benefit of others. In any case, such a development would be less prone to impair the consolidation of parties such as the PSUC, which has a very broad numerical base of members, and much more harmful to those forces (read Socialists of Catalonia-PSC [Socialist Party of Catalonia]-PSOE and Centrists of Catalonia-UCD) that for reasons of hegemony in Catalonia or Madrid have so far been supported at the ballot box by silent majorities, not exactly a militant rank-and-file.

Lastly, in connection with the nationalist Democratic Convergence of Catalonia, we ought to weigh the potential impact of its repeatedly ambiguous politics, because at least with regard to municipal policy it is constantly vacillating between adhering to and getting out of the "pact of the poor" signed with Communists and Socialists to run the Barcelona City Council.

According to political pundits, if Convergence yields to the continual offers of Centrists of Catalonia, its leader, Jordi Pujol, could preside over a unity government along with Socialist leader Joan Reventos as an adviser in CAP [expansion unknown] and Josep Benet (an "independent" candidate for Generalitat president sponsored by the PSUC), who would settle for president of the Catalan Parliament.

But no political observer could regard one or the other hypothesis as more feasible or reasonable at the moment. The pacts and alliances will come only after voters have gone to the polls to choose their parliamentary representatives. They will be the ones who finally and after two nominations by the president of the parliament, come out in favor of one or another candidate for Generalitat president. Anton Canellas is reportedly running as a centrist candidate for

Generalitat president, although he has not yet joined the list of official candidates: Josep Benet (an "independent" whose supposedly unified candidacy has been backed only by the PSUC), Joan Reventos (PSC-PSOE), Jordi Pujol (Convergència i Unió) and Heribert Barrera, the leader of the Republican Left who will run for president if Josep Tarradellas does not.

Lastly, we have to dispel a number of less significant doubts regarding which Catalan leaders might choose to run for the Catalanian Parliament. In this regard, we would only point out that, as the Catalan Autonomy Statute stipulates, the president of the Generalitat must be elected by and from among the members of parliament; therefore, all of the candidates for the Generalitat must resign their seats in Madrid beforehand.

Along with these four or five leaders, other deputies will be resigning so that they can run for the first legislative chamber of Catalonia. This will mean that other candidates who did not win seats when they ran will take over as representatives of their parties in Madrid.

With this question mark yet to be resolved (only Antoni Gutierrez, the secretary general of the PSUC, has so far taken this step in preparation for the future), we should note that as far as Democratic Convergence is concerned, Trias Fargas and Roca Junyent will remain in Madrid, according to all the forecasts, whereas Jose Maria Cullerell will run with Pujol in the Catalanian parliamentary elections. There will apparently be no major changes in the party of Catalan Communists, with Lopez Raimundo, Sole Tura, Cipriano Garcia, etc retaining their seats. With regard to the Centrists, it is impossible to predict who will be running with Canellas in the Catalan parliamentary election until they achieve organizational unity.

8743

CSO: 3110

USE OF STATE SECURITY COURTS AS SECURITY ORGANS OPPOSED

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 4 Dec 79 p 2

[Article by Attorney Turgut Kazan: "State Security Courts and Democracy"]

[Text] Together with the Demirel government has come a return to the question of the State Security Courts [SSC]. The government places great importance on these courts in the prevention of anarchy. According to Demirel, the anarchy problem requires certain legal adjustments.

Envisaged in particular are changes in the laws having to do with basic rights and the establishment without delay of State Security Courts. It is said that this will protect the state and democracy. Yet, it is totally wrong to pin one's hopes on certain special courts in the name of protecting the state, because the crime specifies the legal jurisdiction. This being the case, no matter which court hears a case, the outcome cannot vary. That is, if trial according to the principles of the law is contemplated, then special courts cannot be a way out. The problem lies in the quick apprehension of criminals, the correct and vigorous assembly of evidence and quick conclusion of trials. Measures relating to these steps can be taken, legal changes can even be made. But State Security Courts are neither the way to apprehend criminals, to gather evidence nor to conclude trials quickly. From this standpoint, to consider special courts a means of fighting terrorism is neither realistic nor reliable.

It is necessary to point out that we cannot reconcile the concept of "court" with the concept of "security" anyhow. Ensuring security is the task of other organs of the state. The task of the courts is to assert the superiority of "justice." The power of the legal state is measured by the "justice" it ensures. Indeed, the "justice" that independent and impartial trial provides in the legal state must even temper the state's pursuit of security, if necessary, because the pursuit of security is by necessity the task of the executive organ. From this standpoint, it may vary according to the discretion of the executive organ. But the task of "justice" is, must be, an invariable task. That is, the courts must be able to protect all citizens, even against the demands and pressures of the executive organ. In short, the judicial organ must be able to function as an independent and impartial organ. This is why the security

concept cannot blend with the court concept. If the "security" task is demanded of the courts, the task of justice falls to the background, and the legal state is damaged by this and democracy is damaged by this. Therefore, it is necessary to debate this problem with objectivity at the very outset of the matter. One wonders what SSC's are, how they will be established and how they will function.

Article 136 of the constitution underwent a major change at the time of the 12 March interim regime. Six new paragraphs were added to this article, which had comprised a single paragraph. The SSC's were instituted in this way. The Constitutional Court denied the suit brought for annulment of this amendment. But these points are only one side of the coin. Article 136 of the constitution was amended by law 1699 (14 March 1973). Another important amendment had been realized before this date, however. Article 147 of the constitution was amended by law 1488 on 20 September 1971, bringing the provision that "the Constitutional Court shall not monitor Constitutional amendments in principle." This means that investigation in principle of constitutional amendments was essentially prevented by law 1488. In that case, the Constitutional Court's ruling on law 1699 is a limited ruling. One cannot defend the SSC's as bodies conforming to the law on the basis of this ruling. In fact, the high court denied the annulment-in-principle request on a jurisdictional basis because it considered the request "outside its duty" in view of the clear provision of article 147. (Constitutional Court ruling no 73/19, 75/87, dated 15 April 1975.)

Are They Constitutional?

This means that the Constitutional Court's authorities were limited first, then article 136 was amended. That is, the constitutional provision concerning the SSC's could not be submitted to full judiciary review. Therefore, the fact that these courts appear in the constitution is not proof of their conformity to the law. A court's legality and respect of the law is ensured by its independence. Independence is also sought in objective circumstances. For example, the 1961 Constitution considered the basic rules before making any court designation. According to the constitution, courts are to be established by law. If a law does not comply with the independence rule, it is to be annulled by the Constitutional Court. Here, essentially, is the thread by which the SSC's hang in the constitution. It was feared that if a law were passed, it would be struck down by the high court, because it was desired that these courts not be independent courts but that they work as a "means of security attached to the executive." It was thought that such a law would be appealed before the Constitutional Court and reversed. So, in order to prevent this appeal and overcome the obstacle of the Constitutional Court, the constitution was amended. In short, the appearance of the SSC's in the constitution is not their strength, but their lack of strength. Thus the link between these courts and the executive organ is covered up by the constitution.

The establishment of the SSC's cannot be reconciled with the fundamental principles of the constitution. They are "sui generis" courts which happen to be included in the constitution, because the judges of these courts are the only ones chosen by the executive. This status is like a shadow over the SSC's. Therefore, article 136 does not confer respect upon these courts. As I have tried to explain, they were made constitutional because they could not be established by a special law.

While the bill was being debated in the Senate, neither the JP [Justice Party] group spokesman nor the committee spokesman made any effort to conceal this goal. For example, the committee spokesman said that they were taking this route "in order not to pass a law which found no basis in the constitution" and that "they were making a sui generis court organization into a court deriving its power from the constitution." ("Cumhuriyet Senatosu Tutanak Dergisi," vol 39 dated 1 March 1973, p 118.) The JP spokesman, answering objections about unconstitutionality, also said, "The problem we are discussing is a constitutional problem. While instituting a constitutional provision, the claim that it is contrary to such and such a provision of the constitution is out of order." ("Cumhuriyet Senatosu Tutanak Dergisi," vol 38 dated 28 February 1973, p 88.)

In fact, if the courts aimed for had been courts of an independent character, there would have been no need to amend the constitution. A solution would have been sought through a law, just as it was in the problem of the juvenile courts. But courts for political crimes were desired in which the government would choose the judges. So this is why the constitution was changed and six new paragraphs were added to article 136.

According to these paragraphs, the SSC's will be formed by civilian and military judges. Military judges will be appointed according to their own special laws, that is, by a three-party directive. The Supreme Council of Judges [SCJ] will have no part in the appointment of military judges, the defense minister's and the prime minister's "preferences" will play the role. In the selection of civilian judges, the appointing authority will be left to the "choice" of the SCJ, as the government will present "two candidates for each position." The SCJ will be forced to choose one of these two candidates. That is, from the standpoint of civilian judges, "if the government prefers" with priority, those people will be appointed.

As seen, the SCJ is eliminated as a safeguard as provided in the constitution by means of the constitutional provision relating to the SSC's. Yet, the SCJ is the cornerstone of the "independent courts" rule. The constitution provided for the SCJ in order that every accused person might be tried before an independent court. To render this rule ineffectual and bring the government to replace it is to pull the foundation from under the building. From this standpoint, the new paragraphs of article 136 are out of place within the whole of the constitution. Actually, according to the constitution, the SCJ can still protect its existence. But when the

SSC's are established, the authorities of this council will perforce be diminished. That is, the SCJ will exercise the independent courts rule only in executive disputes and divorce and personal claims suits and will have no influence or authority in cases with political implications. Yet the real necessity is to have independent courts hearing political cases. The right to trial in independent courts is more important in political cases than in executive, divorce and personal claims cases. Freedom of thought and the right to political dissent require that the task of opposition may be performed within security. If political cases are left to courts under the influence of the government, the heart of the "independent courts" rule in the constitution is destroyed, because, "if the judiciary is at the disposal of the administration, it is impossible to speak of independence." (Huncu Kapani, "Icra Organi Karsisinda Hakimlerin Istiklali," 1956, p 84.)

In fact, the "independent courts" rule is not an abstract concept. An independent court means a court which can be established and can operate outside of government influence. Now the SSC's were made constitutional is questionable, however. After these courts are established, they will remain under government influence, because the constitution limits the period of appointment to the SSC's to three years. After three years, the government may retain a judge or not, as it wishes. Indeed, this provision of the constitution is, in itself, a sword of Damocles. If the SSC's are to be established in the large provinces, a judge who has enrolled his child in the university may wish "to be chosen" in order not to go back to the remote provinces. Yet, "to select" is under government authority and monopoly. Is not such a situation a moral dilemma for a judge who wishes to retain his position? Is not this provision alone enough to undo the independent courts rule?

As pointed out, certain measures can be taken against terrorism. Indeed, everyone today wants public safety. Ensuring this is a duty incumbent upon the government. But if terrorism is used as an excuse for jeopardizing the freedoms, tension will increase, not decline, because murder and bank robbery have not the least thing to do with freedom. Terrorism springs from certain focuses on destroying democracy. The important thing is to reach those focuses. Not one suspect to date has used certain freedoms to escape prison. That is, it is difficult to shut the prison doors; is it easy to banish the freedoms? No such rationale will justify the SSC's.

The right to trial in independent courts is a fundamental human right. The 1948 United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (art 10) and the 1950 Rome agreement (art 6) both say, "The right to trial in independent courts is a fundamental right." Turkey is a signatory to both these declarations. Does it not violate these contracts, which have been signed, to insist on saying now that the SSC's are constitutionally mandated?

Moreover, the Constitutional Court, in a new ruling, has found it unconstitutional for a minister "to interfere in jurisdictional assignments among courts." An "annex" to the Criminal Courts' Procedural Law during the 1971 regime gave the minister of justice authority to "indicate" the court which would try political crimes. The Constitutional Court found this provision, instituted by law 1696, to be "executive interference in the judiciary" and abolished it. (Constitutional Court ruling no 77/5-45, dated 7 April 1977.) While even the justice minister's "indicating" a previously established court as the site of trial is considered executive interference in the judiciary, would it not totally upset the rule of law to insist on courts established by the executive?

Harmful to State

In short, the SSC's are not a way by which terrorism may be prevented. To insist on these courts will harm the state in the name of protecting the state.

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'MILLIYET' NAMES MEMBERS OF RPP GROUPS, REACTIONS REPORTED

Names Listed

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 4 Dec 79 p 9

[Text] Ankara, Special -- The structure of the RPP Assembly Group is somewhat confusing. There are those who cannot be identified with any specific opposition group, as well as some who have not joined a group.

The group structure is roughly as follows:

Those Known as Topuz Supporters

Ali Topuz, Selahattin Ocal, Orhan Caneri, Ayhan Altug, Caglayan Ege, Orhan Eyuboglu, Ferit Gundogan, Dogan Gunes, Yalcin Gursel, Enver Karabeyoglu, Cengiz Ozyalcin, Turgut Artac, Ahmet Turk, Yilmaz Balta, Sami Kumbasar, Fikret Ovet, Adil Ali Cinel, Kazim Ozeke, Ertugrul Yolsal.

Those Known as Baykal Supporters

Deniz Baykal, Erol Cevikce, Onder Sav, Hasan Unal, Muharrem Sokeli, Sadullah Usuni, Vazik Tekin, Orhan Yagci, Haluk Karaborklu, Yilmaz Alparslan, Dogan Arasli, Omer Kahraman.

Left-Wing Opposition

Ismail Hakki Ozturun, Ismail Akin, Ibrahim Akdogan, Iskan Azizoglu, Necati Cebe, Cengiz Senses (Discipline Committee), Altan Tuna, Mustafa Gazalci, Erol Saracoglu, Sabri Oznal, Faik Ozturk, Metin Tuzun (Deputy Group Chairman), Ferhat Arslantas (Discipline Committee), Suleyman Genc, Neccar Turkcan, Mehmet Balta, Gunduz Onat, Yucel Akinci, Nizamettin Coban, Nedim Tarhan, Mustafa Senturk, Erkin Topkaya, Hasan Zengin, Sami Gokmen, Burhan Garip Savli, Cemal Bor, Temel Ates, Ertugrul Gunay, Veli Zeren, Kemal Anadol, Kaya Bengisu, Semih Eryildiz.

Opposition Not in a Group (Uncles)

Vehbi Meshur, Kenan Durukan, Hayri Elcioglu, Alisan Canpolat, Yasar Ceyhan, Irfan Ozaydinli, Hasan Esat Isik, Nurettin Karsu, Selcuk Erverdi, Mahmut Turkmenoglu, Sevil Korum, Ali Nejat Olcen, Azimet Koyluoglu, Ali Kurt, Ahmet Altun, Ertöz Vahit Suicmez, Haluk Ulman, Turan Gunes, Kemal Tabak.

Those Known as Pro-Headquarters

M. Yilmaz Mete, Riza Polat, Ismet Canakci, Kemal Kayacan, Teoman Koprululer, Altan Oymen, Mehmet Celik, Turan Cetin, Cemal Aktas, Mail Atli, Mehmet Emekli, N. Celik Yazicioglu, Halil Akgul, Cavit Yenel, Celal Ertug, Lutfu Sahin, Gunduz Okcun, Celal Dogan, Erol Tuncer, Oner Miski, H. Sukru Ozsut, Ilhan Biber, Alev Coskun, Orhan Birgit, Hikmet Cetin, Bahir Ersoy, Ilhan Ozbay, Yuksel Cakmur, Coskun Karagozoglu, A. Taner Kislali, Ismet Atalay, Hasan Yildirim, Vecdi Ilhan, Abdurrahman Ogulturk, Sabri Tigli, Mehmet Gumuscu, Mehmet Yuceler, Mehmet Dedeoglu, Mustafa Ustundag, Lutfi Dogan, Hayrettin Uysal, Kenan Bulutoglu, Ilyas Kilic, Nebil Oktay, Alaattin Sahin, Orhan Akbulut, Mahmut Ozdemir, Cevat Atilgan, Ahmet Sener, Ali Haydar Veriroglu, Sabri Kilic, Ahmet Melik Celal Paydas, Ihsan Bedirhanoglu, Salih Yildiz, Bulent Ecevit, Avni Gursoy, Ramazan Yildirim, Hasan Akkus, Selami Gurguc, Hasan Celalettin Ezman, Etem Eken, Adnan Keskin, Omer Ihsan Pakoz, Cetin Bozkurt, Ismail Ozen, Ekrem Cetin.

Those in the Middle

Omer Buyrukcu, Nuri Bozyel, Saffet Ural, Mustafa Kemal Cilesiz, Haydar Demirtas, Mevlut Onal, Sabri Ozturk, Malik Yilman, Suleyman Simsek, Veli Yildiz, Muammer Aksoy, Tarhan Erdem, Zeki Eroglu, Osman Kaya, Abdurrahman Koksaloglu, Dogan Omur, Necdet Ugur, Huseyin Dogru, Orhan Sezal, Oguz Sogutlu, Kemal Guven, Gani Asik, Ahmet Cobanoglu, Dogan Gunesli, Kilic Sorgucu, Huseyin Kaleli, Turan Firat, Ali Kirca, Hasan Ali Dagli, Zeki Karagozoglu, Yasar Kemal Yuksekli, Burhan Ecemis, Memduh Eksi, Etem Kilicoglu, Muzaffer Onder, Mustafa Yilankiran, Omer Dedeoglu, Servet Durmusoglu, Rahmi Kumas, Huseyin Erkanli, Ismail Aydin, Selahattin Yuksel, Mevlut Gungor Erdinc, Burhan Karacelik.

Reactions Reported

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 5 Dec 79 p 2

[Text] Ankara, Special -- The list published about the RPP Group structure prompted various reactions from certain groups and their members. It was suggested in this context that some mistakes were made in the list, and the designation of opposition members not in a group as "Uncles" was also criticized.

There were also members of the group described as "in the middle" who wished instead to be termed as "those who are not in any clique." Adil Ali Cinel and Orhan Caneri, shown in the list as Topuz supporters, are actually Baykal supporters, we are told, and Mahmut Turkmenoglu, who appeared in the Uncles group, is also a Baykal supporter. On the other hand, Semih Eryildiz, who was placed in the Left-wing group, should be considered a Topuz supporter, and Bahir Ersoy, who was shown as pro-headquarters, is a Topuz supporter. Vamik Tekin, shown in the list as a Baykal supporter, is a Topuz supporter, and Omer Kahraman, who was shown as a Baykal supporter, should be considered pro-headquarters. Ferit Gundogan, Veli Yildiz, Zeki Karagozoglu and Selahattin Yuksel are pro-headquarters. Oner Miski, Selahattin Ocal and Bahattin Karakoc are in the middle. Turgut Artac, who was shown as a Topuz supporter, said, "I do not favor any clique, I am a member of the RPP."

The list was the talk of the RPP cloakroom yesterday and occasioned a joke or two as well.

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